Mean Well to Do Good? Antecedents of Volunteering Re-Examined

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Abbreviations

CFA	Confirmatory Factor Analysis
MCMC	Markov Chain Monte Carlo
ML	Maximum Likelihood
NPM	New Public Management
SEM	Structural Equation Modelling
VFI	Volunteer Function Inventory
WVS	World Values Survey
WVSA	World Values Survey Association

Chapter 1

Introduction

Although volunteer work is, by definition, unpaid, there is a societal and individual value attached to it.[1] The benefits for a society or an individual can be in material or immaterial terms. In Switzerland, the sum of all volunteer work produces the equivalent of 4%-7% of GDP (Schiess and Schön-Bühlman 2004).[2] Thus in economic terms, volunteers undeniably present an added value for society. Moreover, theories of social capital posit a beneficial effect of volunteering for a number of different outcomes – most notably the stability of democracy (Putnam 1993). For an individual, on the other hand, volunteer work can provide valuable resources in terms of career development, for example by attaining new contacts or skills. At the same time, volunteering is inextricably linked to values, particularly altruism. As a consequence of the numerous assumed benefits of volunteering, the antecedents of volunteering and successful recruitment strategies for volunteers have been studied and pursued by nonprofit organisations, government actors and academia alike.

The results of these studies have been rather mixed, however, owing to the multitude of foci and approaches chosen. Most work to date has focused on either individual, structural or contextual factors that may aid volunteer work. However, no studies so far have discussed volunteering in terms of necessity of conditions and the interdependence of factors at different levels contributing to the stimulation of volunteering. This study seeks to remedy these shortcomings by providing an in-depth study of antecedents of formal volunteering at the individual and structural level.[3] I will argue that motivational and structural determinants cannot be considered as being separate in terms of causality, as

[1] Unpaid work is defined as work outside the market which could be performed by a paid employee. It includes housework and care-work in a family context, as well as volunteer work. Volunteer work is defined as unpaid work outside the household, benefiting individuals outside the family circle. Volunteer work can be formal (i.e. instigated by an organisation) or informal (such as helping neighbours on a regular basis). In Switzerland, twice as many hours volunteering are performed informally compared to formally (Schiess and Schön-Bühlmann 2004: 12).

[2] Of this, around one third is produced by organised volunteering. The estimates for the monetary value of unpaid work vary according to the indicator used for measuring the national economy (Schiess and Schön-Bühlmann 2004: 55). The value of organised volunteering as compared to GDP for Switzerland (Schiess and Schön-Bühlmann 2004) is comparable to that of other developed countries (Pho 2008: 224).

[3] The majority of studies on volunteering have focused on formal volunteering, as informal volunteering has been part of national surveys only recently (c.f. Bundesamt für Statistik 2004).

motivational processes are linked to social interactions. This interdependence can be called socialisation or institutionalization (depending on the level of analysis and the field of research). It will be argued that by focusing on social interactions, the different aspects of volunteer participation can be better understood, as such a focus provides the link between motivation, structure and context. The social interaction argument will be presented at two levels: the individual level and the organisational level. At the individual level, social interactions are important in the formation of personal values. These, in turn, influence behaviour. At the organisational level, social interactions determine network formation. At both levels, contextual factors influence individual and organisational behaviour, which encourages prosocial action.

Volunteer participation is a form of prosocial action that can include a range of activities, from signing political petitions to helping build a community playground in one's spare time.[4] Accordingly, antecedents of prosocial action have been studied in a range of fields, from political participation (Miller and Snyder 2009; Mansbridge 1990), public sector motivation (Jurkiewicz and Massey 1997) to social volunteering (Omoto and Snyder 2002). Prosocial action can, but does not have to be, altruistic in nature.[5] It benefits another individual or group in society, but it does not preclude a personal benefit for the individual acting prosocially. Although this study is concerned with social volunteering specifically, the implications are applicable to most forms of prosocial action.

Smith (1994) suggested that volunteering be studied according to five aspects: context, social background, personality, attitude and situation. Most of these aspects have, in fact, been central to studies on volunteering. Social scientists have investigated prosocial action either in terms of the puzzle of altruism in the context of decision theories (cf. Becker 1974; Fehr and Schmidt 1999; Frey and Meier 2004; Meier and Stutzer), in terms of motivational structure and

[4] Prosocial action is the terminology used by social psychology; solidarity would be sociology's equivalent (Fetchenhauer et al. 2006).
[5] For an excellent review of work on altruism and civic engagement across various disciplines, see (Haski-Leventhal 2009).

socialisation (Clary et al. 1998; Finkelstein et al. 2005), or in a societal context as social interaction (Putnam 1993). Economists usually see the motivational basis of volunteering in terms of intrinsic and extrinsic motivation. Intrinsic motivation can include the effects of the recipient's utility (Argyle 1999), the effect of the work itself (Deci and Ryan 2000) or the so called "warm-glow" effect (Andreoni 1990). Extrinsic motivation is explained by the investment model (Hackl et al. 2007), i.e. the benefits of external payoffs. More recently, economists (e.g. Simon 1993; Fehr and Schmidt 1999; Manner and Gowdy 2009) have turned to evolutionary biology to explain the evolution of social behaviour, i.e. why it may be beneficial for the survival of the species to act pro-socially. Wilson (1978: 167) went even further in claiming that "morality has no other demonstrable ultimate function." This is, however, not the only perspective on prosocial motivation.

Social psychologists have studied antecedents and maintenance of volunteering more generally in terms of its mechanisms. Recently, it has been explained by two main theoretical models: The functional model (Omoto and Snyder 2002; Clary et al. 1998), an arousal and affect theory of functional attitudes, and the role identity model (Piliavin and Callero 1991), which builds on socialisation and learning (Bandura 1977). Both present amalgamated explanations of behaviour, encompassing both norms and socialisation and stressing the importance of social interaction in the formation of personal values (Batson 1998: 471). Arousal and affect theories assume that people behave in ways that help them attain a specific goal – be it egoistic or altruistic in nature.[6] Thus, feelings of upset, sadness or guilt (affect) produce egoistically motivated helping in order to alleviate one's own guilt or upset. Empathy or compassion produce altruistically motivated helping. Contextual factors, such as framing messages, for example, can augment affect. On the other hand, processes of arousal and affect are mediated to some extent by learning and personal standards, meaning that the extent of affect is dependent on socialisation and value systems, which are the focus of social learning theory (Bandura 1977). In a

[6] And in this respect they are comparable to the models of intrinsic and extrinsic motivation.

review of theories on altruism and prosocial behaviour, Batson (1998: 466) went so far as to surmise that "...were one forced to choose a single theory to explain why people do - and do not - act prosocially, social learning theory should almost certainly be the choice." A consequence of the interaction of value systems and socialisation are different types of norms - such as norms of reciprocity or norms of social responsibility - which in turn are linked to group processes.

Group processes and structural features of social life are the focus of sociological enquiries into prosocial activities. Again, social interaction lies at the centre of group processes. Thus, group processes, i.e. processes concerned with social institutions (e.g. family or religious organisations), as well as resources resulting from those, are considered to be of relevance for prosocial activity. It was found, for example, that people from volunteer families and members of a religious community tend to volunteer more. The same goes for better-educated and wealthier people (Wilson and Musick 1997; Hackl et al. 2007; Campbell 2009). Likewise, group identity can determine helping behaviour (Triandis 1994). In both motivational and sociological studies of volunteer motivation, however, the link between individual level or group processes, on the one hand, and value systems and socialisation, on the other hand, are somewhat unclear, as the analyses are limited to the former rather than the latter.[7] Norms, however, can present a link between different strands of sociological and motivational theories. Norms of social responsibility, for example, form the basis of parts of motivational explanations (e.g. Schwartz and Howard 1981), while norms of reciprocity are central to structural theories of social systems (e.g. Cook 2005,).

Structural theories of social systems, for example, examine prosocial phenomena in terms of social interactions embedded in structure such as networks (Coleman 1990). Network actors can be either individuals or

[7] There have nevertheless been a few attempts to link the two levels of processes in motivational studies (Penner et al. 2005) as well as studies of group processes (Schwartz 2006) to some extent.

organisations. Structural embeddedness shapes actors' interests and resources, and interaction between network actors defines a network. Network interactions have certain qualities in terms of strength of ties and network stratification that allow certain inferences to be drawn regarding network effects (Burt 1980). Thus, it is assumed that network formation is linked to mimetic processes based on the evaluation of network benefits of known network actors (see Strang 2010). Diffusion processes, on the other hand, are determined by network structure in terms of attitudes and information flow (e.g. Coleman 1988; Burt 2001; Turrini et al. 2010). Therefore, existing network ties are thought to lead to new ties. Network structure may influence this formation process in two ways; networks with structural holes are more efficient in information diffusion, while closed networks, on the other hand, produce higher levels of reciprocity. The attitudinal aspects involved in social interactions, such as volunteering, are norms of reciprocity (Hardin 1993).

Similarly, attitudinal aspects of prosocial behaviour are studied in the context of social capital and cultural values. For social capital, social relations (i.e. structure) and trust (i.e. attitude) have been named as key components leading to a multitude of beneficial effects for society (e.g. Putnam 1993; Schmid 2002; Curtis et al. 2001; Dekker and Uslaner 2001). The structural components of social capital can be clearly linked to structural sociological theory (see above), while the attitudinal component, in the social capital literature, is of more uncertain descent. Trust has been linked to different types of norms, such as norms of reciprocity, which is relevant in a social interaction context (Coleman 1990), and shared norms (Putnam 1993). These shared norms may refer to cultural values, discussed below, and membership of an in-group (Triandis 1994). Therefore, shared values may create one kind of trust, while norms of reciprocity from social interaction are more likely to produce situational trust, i.e. trust that is limited to a specific interaction context. In many cases, however, social capital is seen as a grass-roots phenomenon involving a bottom-up process from individuals to groups. Political institutions, are not only neglected in terms of analysis but are seen by some as a hindrance to social

capital formation (Fukuyama 2001). This view has been heavily criticised among other things on the grounds that it is institutions that enable the formation of group processes and the diffusion of norms in the first place (e.g. Tarrow 1996; Skocpol et al. 2000). This institutionalist perspective can be found in many structuralist accounts of social capital formation as well (Lovseth 2009).

The cultural values perspective is related to the social capital literature, in that shared norms are a key element in explaining prosocial behaviour (Johnson et al. 1989; Bardi and Schwartz 2003; Schwartz 1994; Curtis et al. 2001). Differences in cultural values were found by some authors to be responsible for levels of participation (Welzel et al. 2005). At the same time, cultural values are related to motivational aspects of volunteering and thus bridging the gap between social psychology and sociology (Rokeach 1973). Therefore, the role of values for volunteer motivation plays an important role in explaining altruism, as - beyond evolutionary explanations - values are seen as a link between motives and prosocial action. The role of institutions for cultural values has been introduced primarily in the governance literature in the context of democratic values, institutionalisation and bureaucratic norms (March and Olsen 1995; Olsen 2009). However, the link between social structure, values, motives and resources has been hitherto undertheorized and empirically neglected. Instead, individual components (the nuts and bolts) have been analysed separately.

In their 1997 article, Wilson and Musick aimed to construct an "integrated theory of volunteer work" by using a resource approach including human, social and cultural capital (1997: 694). Thus, according to Wilson and Musick (1997), volunteering can be predicted by assessing individuals' resources in these three domains. Their contribution is indeed valuable because it comprises most of the previously used approaches to explaining volunteering: socio-economic factors (including skills), social ties and values. Although Wilson and Musick's (1997) work clearly points in the right direction, there are a number of problems linked

to this conceptualization. First, and most importantly, the separation of culture, social ties and individual resources creates problems at the motivational level. Most theories of social behaviour find that value systems have various components and levels and that it is through socialisation and experience that they shape personal values.[8] These personal values, in turn, form attitudes, which are context-dependent and determine behaviour. Therefore, social interaction, values, personal resources and motives cannot be separated in such a way in the study of social behaviour. Second, and linked to this, if action is to be explained, context cannot be omitted. Third, the operationalisation of at least two of Wilson and Musick's three main concepts, social capital and cultural capital, is clearly insufficient.[9]

The current study, by contrast, offers an in-depth analysis of the motives to volunteer, the link from motives to value systems and the role of social interaction at the individual and organisational level. Moreover, contextual factors, namely the role of persuasion and institutions, are tested at both levels. An interdependence of values, motives, structure and context is expected. Cultural values and socialisation shape personal values, which in turn act as moderators of volunteer motivation. The extent to which motives other than values are pertinent in the decision to volunteer is therefore dependent on personal values.[10] Moreover, the decision to volunteer can be affected by matching persuasive messages, such as advertisements, or incentives. Thus, this part of the work establishes a link between values, motives and context through social interaction. The second major part of this study is dedicated to the role of social interactions and institutionalisation in promoting volunteering.

[8]Although "personal values" are by definition individual values, I will use the term "personal values" throughout. The reason for this choice is that individual values are shaped by socialisation and experience, and therefore become "personal", i.e. are not only situated at the individual level, but are highly individual. The term "personal values" has also been used by Schartz and Bilsky (1987), for example.

[9] Human capital is operationalised through education, family income, functional health and chronic illness; social capital through number of children and informal social contacts; Cultural capital is measured by using questions on the importance of helping, church attendance and praying. The authors also point out this shortcoming (Wilson and Musick 1997: 699).

[10] Personality traits are not considered as contributing factors in the context of this study. Note, however, that trust has been established to be a constituting factor of the "agreeableness" personality trait (John et al. 1991).

The organisational level is considered as one step removed from individual decision-making. Local networks of volunteer organisations and state actors are examined for their properties that promote volunteering. This promotion occurs at the stage of network formation, on the one hand, and at the level of policy diffusion on the other hand.

The results of two major research projects are described: an experimental study on volunteer motivation at the individual level (Chapters 3-5) and a study of local networks of volunteer organisations and state actors (Chapter 7). Finally, the link between cultural values and personal values and trust is further explored in an analysis of the World Values Survey Data (WVSA 2009) (Chapters 2 and 6).

The structure of the dissertation is as follows. In Chapter 2, the role of cultural and personal values on volunteering is examined with WVS Data. The aim is to evaluate whether differences in cultural values – such as individualist and collectivist values – are relevant for volunteer participation in Switzerland. It is found that differences in personal values, and not cultural values, account for variations in volunteer participation. Consequently, individual-level motivation is the focus of the next three chapters (Chapter 3-5). Differences in individual level motivation are tested in the context of an experimental study.

The experimental study comprises an online experiment and a field experiment testing volunteer motivation and the effect of matching persuasive messages and incentives with motives on volunteer motivation. The expectations are that matching persuasive messages with individual motives increases the willingness to volunteer. Moreover, I will propose an extended model of volunteer motivation that incorporates cultural values and socialisation and therefore contributes to the volunteer motivation literature both empirically and theoretically.

The next chapter (Chapter 6) picks up the values theme from chapter 2 in the context of social relations. The main theoretical strands of the social capital literature and their treatment of relations and norms are discussed. However, the mainstay of recent social capital literature, trust, and its relation to values is the focus of this chapter. A re-analysis of WVS data (Chapter 2) including different types of trust shows that there is no relationship between trust and volunteering. The conclusion is that trust can reflect values but that it can also be created contextually. Thus, social relations not only create a context for trust, but have other individual or group benefits as well. Group benefits of social relations are the topic of the subsequent chapter.

The network study (Chapter 7) examines network formation and policy diffusion in eight local organisational networks for three different subnational units in Switzerland. It is assumed that strong network ties between state actors and nonprofit actors lead to network expansion. Network structure, on the other hand, will be relevant for the diffusion of volunteer promotion policies. In networks with structural holes – as is the case in hierarchical networks – volunteer promotion policies are expected to be implemented more successfully. However, both the process of network formation and policy diffusion are affected by contextual factors in the shape of structural reforms. Thus superordinate institutions, such as subnational political units, may determine the shape and spread of local networks.

Finally, the concluding chapter summarises the findings of the different chapters. The different chapters show that social relations are embedded in norms and values that are internalized through experiences and socialisation/institutionalisation. It seems relevant to include these dimensions in the analysis of prosocial action at different levels of analysis in order to gain a more precise view of the antecedents of prosocial behaviour.
What remains for future research is to establish a causal chain from the organisational to the individual level in terms of network effects (for example

process tracing). Moreover, the extended model of volunteer motivation can be refined to include improved measures for values and socialisation.

Chapter 2

Benevolent Against the Odds? A Study of Volunteering Patterns in an Individualist Society*

* This chapter has appeared in slightly changed form as a book chapter in Hug, Simon and Kriesi, Hanspeter (eds.), 2010, *Value Change in Switzerland*, Lanham:Lexington, pp: 293-318.

2.1 Introduction

In comparative studies on cultural values and volunteering an apparent paradox emerges: Over the last two decades, volunteer work has been increasing most in those countries found to be most individualist, namely the historically Protestant countries or those with a mixed denominational history such as Switzerland (Inglehart and Oyserman 2004). This puzzling rise of collectivist behaviour in supposedly individualist societies raises a number of questions. These questions concern the nature of the relationship between value systems and behaviour. The first issue relates to differences regarding the level at which values influence behaviour. Some argue that it is cultural values, i.e. values that are shared by a particular society like the values associated with a predominant religion, that influence behaviour such as volunteering. Others find personal values – values that pertain specifically to the individual – to be more decisive in shaping action. Related to this problem is the question of measuring values. More often than not, individual attitudes are aggregated at the country level in order to form cultural value scores, thus not only neglecting the distinction between values and attitudes but also ignoring possible sub-national value regions.

The second issue in the literature refers to the impact of values on behaviour. It is contested whether individualist or collectivist values have a positive impact on prosocial behaviour. The problem arises from differences in the operationalisation of values and from different views on mechanisms that are responsible for benevolent behaviour. These mechanisms are linked to the formation and effect of in-groups for the individual and to whether people tend to restrict benevolent behaviour to in-groups.

In order to answer these questions, the argument of this chapter is twofold: First, it will be argued that *personal* values, rather than *cultural* values,

determine individual behaviour. Second, empirical patterns of value change often rely on inferring values from attitudes. As attitudes – in contrast to values – can and do change more easily over time, it stands to reason that a change in attitudes is mostly behind these empirical patterns of change.[11] There is one important caveat, however: As the data used – the World Values Survey for Switzerland (waves 1996 and 2007) – do not allow personal values to be measured over time, our results regarding personal values only pertain to their effect on behaviour at one point in time.

By comparing the effect of personal values and cultural values in Switzerland, this study aims to test the hypothesis that benevolent behaviour[12] is influenced predominantly by personal values rather than cultural values and thus partly solving the apparent puzzle formulated above. This will be accomplished using theoretically derived cultural value indicators and active membership questions – as a proxy for volunteering. Personal values can be measured for 2007 only, following Schwartz's (1994) circumplex value model, in order to test the claim that personal values have a greater effect on behaviour than cultural values. Given the data restrictions, additional proxies for personal and cultural values will be used in order to test the claims made here. These proxies are sub-national regions of predominant religions for cultural values and subjective religiosity for personal values. Thus, this approach allows, to put group level and individual-level value changes in Switzerland to be placed in relation to changing patterns of prosocial behaviour.

The first section starts with a discussion of the debate on the effects of values on behaviour. This broad overview is followed by a section focusing on the main aspects to be considered when narrowing the scope of the enquiry on

[11] It would be beyond the scope of this chapter to include attitudes and their effect on behaviour in the discussion beyond their treatment in the literature.
[12] Although the term "benevolent behaviour" or "prosocial behaviour" is used throughout, the measure employed is one for "active membership".

Switzerland. Thereafter, data and measurements are discussed before turning to the main results of the study.

2.2 The Impact of Values on Prosocial Behaviour: Collectivism vs. Individualism

When it comes to the impact of values on prosocial behaviour, we can observe important differences in existing work: First, there is a distinction to be made regarding the level at which values are thought to influence action. Numerous studies consider cultural values at the aggregate level and are therefore able to make correlational statements about the predominance of a certain type of cultural values for a particular unit of observation and, for that same unit, the ratio of a particular observed behaviour, such as prosocial behaviour (e.g., Hofstede 1980; Inglehart and Oyserman 2004; Kemmelmeier et al. 2006; Levine et al. 2001). However, values aggregated at the country level cannot take into account sub-national heterogeneity and thus may overlook sub-national variations with regard to cultural values (Oyserman et al. 2002; Triandis 1994).

Second, some authors (e.g. Inglehart and Oyserman 2004) do not distinguish between overarching values (e.g. egalitarianism) and attitudes (e.g. attitude towards homosexuality) and their studies are therefore of limited use to value discussions in the context of behaviour. The link between values and behaviour is discussed more specifically by Rokeach (1973) who provides – certainly in terms of individual behaviour – more meaningful results (Triandis 1994).

Values are thus seen as serving as guiding social behaviour, but they are to be distinguished from attitudes, norms and interests, which they in fact shape (Rokeach 1973; Homer and Kahle 1988). Values are antecedents of attitudes, which in turn influence behaviour (Tesser and Shaffer 1990). Thus it can be

said that a mixture of societal and personal factors forms values but that values shape individual attitudes and behaviour. As values are shaping attitudes, and attitudes are more easily deduced from survey questions, it is legitimate to make inferences from attitudes to overarching values. "People can possess attitudes toward any concrete object (e.g. milk, pizza) or abstract issue (e.g. abortion, censorship) in their environment. In contrast, values focus entirely on abstract ideals, such as freedom, helpfulness, and equality" (Maio et al. 2003 : 284). In this chapter, however, the focus will be on values, and not attitudes.

Personal values are shaped by shared and individual experiences, and they, in turn, shape attitudes and norms. *Cultural* values both shape and are shaped by personal values. Rokeach (1973: 5) puts forward the following definition: "A value is an enduring belief that a specific mode of conduct or end-state of existence is personally or socially". We can thus distinguish between values applying to society and values applying to the self. Personal values can therefore be linked to self-identification and modes of conduct (Verplanken and Holland 2002), whereas cultural values would be linked more to societal end-states and norms.

Equality between the sexes could therefore be called a cultural value that has historically grown and been present in the public discourse. It applies to a societal end-state (i.e. equality) that encompasses a host of laws and regulations for enforcement (of equal pay, equal opportunities etc.). However, an individual being socialised in such a cultural region would certainly be influenced by these cultural values to some extent and personal values may be shaped by them. However, individual behaviour would only be affected by these cultural values if the combination of socialisation, experience and personal traits resulted in a personal value structure that emphasises universalism values. Likewise, religion can be regarded as a cultural value, whereas religiosity is shaped by personal values.

The individualism/collectivism dimension has been used most often to characterize cultural value divides (Triandis et al. 1990). Individuals are believed to have both *collectivist* and *individualist* values, the configuration of which may be influenced by certain cultural values – such as religion. In a given society, either individualist or collectivist aspects may be predominant, but both aspects exist in all cultures. Moreover, the individualist/collectivist distinction is by no means the only conceptualization of cultural values (see Hofstede 1980; Schwartz 1994; Whiting et al. 1975; Klages and Gensicke 2005). If indeed "…subjective culture is the subjective aspect [of culture], that is the shared perceptions of the social environment" (Triandis, 1994: 44), then there must be a multitude of shared perceptions of values, i.e. cultural values, in a particular society.

Cultural psychologists found that it is mostly personal values that determine behaviour (Gudykunst et al. 1996). Moreover, experimental research (Verplanken and Holland 2002) has found indications that values that are linked to the self have stronger motivational properties. Therefore, it can be argued that prosocial behaviour, such as volunteer work, is influenced most by personal values rather than societal norms, even though the two are connected. The *main hypothesis* of the present study is that personal values, rather than cultural values are predominantly responsible for active membership of voluntary organisations.

Schwartz (1987; 1994) identified 10 basic personal value types[13] in four value clusters on two bipolar dimensions – conservation/openness-to change and self-transcendence/self-enhancement – the poles of each of which relate to the theoretically inferred concepts of collectivism and individualism (see Table 2.1). Hedonism and Universalism (in brackets) can be less clearly attributed to their respective dimension/poles (Bardi and Schwartz 2003).[14] Schwartz thought this

[13] For question wording see Table A2.2 in the appendix.
[14] Hedonism has also been attributed to both openness to change and self-enhancement (individualism) whereas universalism has been found to be part of the self-enhancement cluster

basic value structure to be applicable to cultural values as well and found it to be robust across several cultures (2001; 2006). Note that other authors have referred to these same dimensions, but have measured and termed them in slightly different ways.[15]

Table 2.1: Typology of Personal Values (Schwartz 1994)

Individualism	**Collectivism**
Openness to Change	Conservation
• Stimulation • Self-Direction • (Hedonism)	• Tradition • Conformity • Security
Self-Enhancement	Self-Transcendence
• Power • Achievement	• (Universalism) • Benevolence

There are, however, good reasons to use the Schwartz (1994) value items for personal values only. The questions are framed in a way that relate to the self. By answering the ten value items, respondents have to perform a type of self-identification, i.e. identify which values are central to their personality (Verplanken and Holland 2002). How motivational effects can be accentuated by priming will be discussed in chapter 4. It is therefore justifiable to use value items relating to the self for personal values and value items relating to societal end-states for cultural values.

As far as the impact of cultural values on prosocial behaviour is concerned, Kemmelmeier et al. (2006) claim that cultural individualism can, in fact,

as well (individualism) (Bardi and Schwartz 2003). These differences can be attributed to some extent to the conceptualisation of the individualism/collectivism concepts and the indicators chosen.

[15] They have been termed "collectivism v. individualism" (Hofstede 1980), "survival v. self-expression" (Inglehart and Oyserman 2004), "allocentrism v. idiocentrism" (Triandis 1994) and "embeddedness v. autonomy" (Schwartz 1994). This author will use the terms "individualism" and "collectivism" throughout. Homer and Kahle (1988) found an "internal" and "external" dimension of values.

promote prosocial behaviour towards strangers, whereas collectivist cultural values have this effect only for in-group members such as family or congregation members. In their view, personal motives for prosocial behaviour play a key role here: As members of individualist societies follow their own personal goals, motives other than altruism may give rise to prosocial behaviour (see Clary, Snyder et al. 1998).[16] However, the presentation of their results fails to convince, as it cannot be precluded that their indicator for individualism/collectivism is not in fact an urbanisation measure. Waterman (1984) suggests that various ethical implications of individualism – such as the adherence to universalistic values – may be responsible for a positive effect of individualist cultural values on prosocial behaviour. Universalistic values, however, have also been attributed to collectivist values, namely in the context of religion, another cultural value, and benevolence.[17]

Religion thus plays an undeniable role in the structure of values systems although its influence on behaviour remains contested. In a number of field experiments, Levine et al. (2001) tested the claim that societies with predominant collectivist values would display more prosocial behaviour. They found predominantly Catholic values (which they equated with collectivist values) to have a positive effect on helping strangers, along with some socio-economic variables. This claim is supported by the findings of other authors (Bühlmann and Freitag 2004; Offe 2001), who took into account both individual and state-level characteristics. Other studies, however, came to the opposite conclusion. Curtis et al. (2001: 796) found in a cross-national study (based on WVS data) that the number of memberships of voluntary associations was strongly influenced by a predominantly Protestant religion. Based on this rather mixed evidence, it is likely that religion is a cultural value that influences the

[16] Clary, Snyder et al.'s (1998) functionalist approach to volunteer motives identifies six motives for volunteering. Four of these could be termed "selfish", whereas the other two, values and social motives, are less clearly attributable. The functionalist approach is the focus of chapters 3-5.

[17] Schwartz (2007) finds that universalistic values relate more to the wellbeing of others, and benevolence values to the wellbeing of in-group members, thus to some extent supporting Kemmelmeier et al.'s (2006) claim but assigning the value to a different dimension.

formation of personal values and attitudes, but does not directly determine behaviour.

Various religions show a predominance of collectivist values. However, helping is not limited to a particular religious denomination (Rokeach 1973) but rather to the strength of religious values (such as religiosity) (Salamon and Anheier 1998). In a recent study, Driskell et al. (2008) tested the effects of different aspects of religion/beliefs on (political) participation. They found that it is religious beliefs, rather than religious practices such as churchgoing or religious denomination, that influence behaviour. In a meta-analysis of studies testing the Schwartz and Bilsky (1987) values model, Saroglou et al. (2004: 727) found that the correlation between values and religiosity were highest for the values related to conformity, tradition and benevolence and to a lesser extent to security. This was true for Protestants, Catholics, Jews and Greek-Orthodox religions alike. Thus religiosity may be considered as being independent of religious denomination but linked to personal values.

2.3 Data and Measurements[18]

All data used are from the WVS waves 1996 and 2007 for Switzerland. *Personal values* are measured with Schwartz's ten personal value items for the 2007 wave. They ask respondents to indicate whether particular attributes and behaviours apply to them personally. The results of multi-dimensional scaling for the data (see Steenbergen and Leimgruber 2010) support the decision to construct two bipolar personal values indicators with values ranging from -1 to 1[19] following the basic typology from Table 2.1. This means that the two value indicators encompass the two opposing value clusters self-transcendence/self-enhancement and conservation/openness-to change. In terms of the

[18] For details on the indicators used in this chapter, consult the Table of Indicators (Table A2.1) in the appendix.
[19] Mean normalized value of four (self-transcendence) and six (conservation) and six Schwartz items (see appendix).

individualism/collectivism divide, the conservation and self-transcendence poles correspond to collectivism.

Two proxies for *cultural values* were used, which are based on items that ask about desirable societal end-states (cf. Rokeach 1973).[20] The questions involve one item each for the conservation/openness to change dimension and for the self-transcendence/self-enhancement dimension. For the conservation/openness to change dimension, respondents were asked whether they preferred a Switzerland that is more open to the outside or a Switzerland that is more closed. For the self-transcendence/self-enhancement dimension, they were asked whether they preferred a Switzerland with equal opportunities for all or a Switzerland without equali opportunities. With regard to the individualism/collectivism divide, the conservation (closure) and self-transcendence (equality) poles correspond to collectivism.

To measure prosocial behaviour, three dichotomous *variables for active membership* were created based on a list of voluntary associations – membership of at least one of the following a) all the organisations included in the questionnaire (vol 2), b) culture and education, environment, charity and church/faith-based organisations (vol 1) or c) culture, education, environment and charity organisations (vol 3). As values and prosocial behaviour are at the centre of this investigation, it was decided that only the latter two categories could be suitable indicators for the dependent variable. The category encompassing culture and education, environment, charity and church/faith-based approximates the category "service organisation" in the functional distinction of organisations as used by some authors (Kriesi and Baglioni 2003)[21] and it was this measure that was used for the analysis.[22]

[20] They were confirmed in principal component analysis.
[21] Service organisations include mostly solidary organisations (Clark and Wilson 1961).
[22] Regressions were also run also with the Active Membership variable without faith-based organisations as dependent variable: The results vary little from the category including faith-

The existence of sub-national value regions, such as geographically delimited areas of predominant religions, allow for insights into the relationship between values and behaviour as they can serve as a proxy for cultural values. In various values studies (e.g., Welzel et al. 2005; Schwartz 1994) religious value systems were found to account for value differences within Switzerland. In fact, recent census data (BFS 2005) confirm the existence of such distinct denominational regions, but also show that the religious landscape has become much more heterogeneous since 1990. There is, on the one side, an area roughly covering the cantons of central Switzerland, Valais, Ticino, Fribourg and Jura with a Catholic dominance and, on the other side, the rest of Switzerland with no, or slightly Protestant dominance. For our purposes, we shall distinguish between these two cultural value regions – one predominantly Catholic and one with no predominant religious denomination, i.e. mixed region – are constructed. The Catholic value region includes the ten cantons that are predominantly Catholic. The mixed value region encompasses the remaining 16 cantons with no predominant religious denomination.

Two individual-level *religiosity* measures serve as a proxy for *personal values*. They test the claim that religiosity (personal), and not religion (cultural), influences behaviour and control for religiosity driving the results for active membership.[23] The simple religiosity measure indicates self-reported religiosity, i.e. whether a person considers herself to be religious. The more complex indicator corresponds to the one constructed by Nicolet and Tresch (2010). It measures different aspects of beliefs and religious practices.[24]

based organisations but the small N for this analysis (without faith-based organisations) makes firm conclusions problematic, however.

[23] Results for models without the religiosity variables vary only marginally from those presented. Religious denomination was also controlled for as well but had no discernible effect.

[24] Four of these are used in the analysis: "Practicing Christian", "Uncommitted Christian", Believe w/o Belonging and "Post-Christian". The last category "Non-Religious" was the reference category and the category "Belonging without Believing" was dropped for plausibility reasons, i.e. the very small percentage that falls into this category may be the result of (coding) errors as substantively it is not plausible that a person is a regular churchgoer without believing in God.

As control variables, a number of the most widely used demographic and socio-economic indicators are added to the analysis as determinants of participation (e.g., Matsuba et al. 2007; Wilson 2000; Welzel et al. 2005). These are income, education, age, and gender.[25] Resource theories of action and volunteering assume that socio-economic factors increase the likelihood of active membership and volunteering (e.g., Burns and Schlozman 2001; Coleman 1990; Lake and Huckfeldt 1998; Wilson and Musick 1997) through mechanisms of networks and exchange. Thus two recoded variables for income and education are included in the analysis. Age and active membership were found to have an inverted u-shaped relationship, which can be attributed to paid income: With increasing age – up to retirement age – people participate more and then the curve tapers off. The role of gender for active membership of instrumental organisations is not so clear-cut: Men are generally more active in organisations; women are more active informally (e.g., Gaskin and Smith 1995; Bühlmann and Freitag 2004; Stadelmann-Steffen et al. 2007; Strub and Bauer 2002). However, when it comes to service organisations, women tend to be more involved (Erlach 2006).

2.4 Value Change and Volunteering in Switzerland – Results and Discussions

2.4.1 Value Change and Membership in Switzerland

Inglehart and Oyserman (2004), using WVS data (1981-2000), find an overall shift in cultural values from collectivism towards individualism and attribute this to increasing prosperity since WWII. This becomes particularly apparent in advanced industrial democracies, where large intergenerational value differences can be observed between cohorts born after 1950 and earlier cohorts (Inglehart and Baker 2000: 44). As mentioned, this result is partly

[25] Urbanity is also frequently cited in this context. As the indicator exists only for 2007 and the results do not differ when including the variable, I abstained from using it further.

driven by their choice of value indicator, which, is constructed from a large number of different (predominantly) attitude and value items. For Switzerland, a comparison between the two waves can only be made for cultural values as the Schwartz value items were first introduced first in the 2007 wave. A comparison of the mean values for the self-transcendence and conservation dimensions shows that the differences between the 1996 and 2007 waves are small (0.3 and 0.4 on a six-point scale) and that the mean values have, in fact, changed toward more collectivism. Furthermore, the differences between predominantly Catholic and mixed value regions for both personal and cultural value means are negligible. These results are not in line with those of Inglehart and Oyserman (2004) but may be explained by the different value measures employed.

Data for Switzerland on active membership (table 2.2) show a similar picture to those of cross-national studies, i.e. an increase in active membership: Between 1996 and 2007, in organisations in the area of culture, education,

Table 2.2 : Changes in Active Membership by Wave and Value Region (percent respondents in regions; unweighted)

Active Membership	**1996**			**2007**			**Change**		
	no pred. religion	pred. catholic	Total	no pred. religion	pred. catholic	Total	no pred. religion	pred. catholic	Total
All Organisations	55.1	62.6	57.8	66.0	64.94	65.67	11.0	2.3	7.9
Church, Culture, Environment, Education, Charity	29.5	36.9	32.2	42.9	37.5	41.2	13.4	0.6	9.1
Culture, Environment, Education, Charity	22.0	26.4	23.6	33.2	29.9	32.1	11.2	3.5	8.6
Number of Respondents	759	420	1179	727	328	1055			

environment, charities and humanitarian organisations as well as church/faith-based, there was a 9.1 percent increase in respondents who were active

members of at least one of these organisations. Leaving out the church/religious organisations, there is still an 8.6 percent increase to be found. Overall, active membership rose by 7.9 percent. In terms of regions of religious predominance, it is obvious that there are some differences in membership levels to be found. While in 1996, membership levels were higher for all types of organisations, these differences have evened out as membership rose much more sharply in the region with no predominant religion. Whether these differences can be attributed to value-related issues or are due to other socio-demographic characteristics can only be answered in the next step of the analysis.

To sum up the discussion from this section: active membership in Switzerland for all categories of organisations has been on the increase since 1996. The erstwhile lead in membership levels in the Catholic value region was ceded to the mixed value region. The results for cultural value means do not match those of previous studies (Inglehart and Oyserman 2004) – there is only marginal change and in the opposite direction. Moreover, it seems uncertain that there are region-specific value differences. The magnitude of influence of different values on membership cannot be gleaned from descriptive analysis and the determinants of active membership will be considered in the next section.

2.4.2 Determinants of Personal and Cultural Values

In a first step, the antecedents of the two different value types were tested, the results of which are shown in Table 2.3. Presented are the results for cultural values in 1996 (models1 and 2) and 2007 (models 3 and 4) as well as personal values in 2007 (models 5 and 6). A very conspicuous result is that for both cultural value dimensions, the predominantly Catholic regions have a negative

Table 2.3: Determinants of Values Split by Years: OLS Regression, Unstandardised Coefficients*

	1996	1996	2007	2007	2007	2007
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
	CV	CV	CV	CV	PV	PV
	Self-Trans.	Conserv.	Self-Trans.	Conserv.	Self-Trans.	Conserv.
Catholic Value Region	-0.723***	-0.305**	-0.186	-0.006	0.020	0.045**
	(0.145)	(0.128)	(0.141)	(0.144)	(0.024)	(0.022)
Income 3250-5250 Fr.	-0.059	-0.094	-0.190	-0.337	-0.037	0.033
	(0.220)	(0.200)	(0.266)	(0.266)	(0.035)	(0.043)
Income 5250-7250 Fr.	-0.076	0.182	0.230	-0.501*	0.009	0.002
	(0.225)	(0.195)	(0.256)	(0.259)	(0.037)	(0.041)
Income 7250-9250 Fr.	-0.044	0.196	0.182	-0.362	-0.054	-0.001
	(0.218)	(0.191)	(0.279)	(0.282)	(0.037)	(0.043)
Income 9250-11250 Fr.	-0.191	-0.205	0.322	-0.772***	-0.034	-0.013
	(0.250)	(0.190)	(0.280)	(0.276)	(0.038)	(0.044)
Income Over 11250 Fr	-0.096	-0.134	0.536*	-0.502	-0.106**	-0.069
	(0.251)	(0.207)	(0.306)	(0.305)	(0.045)	(0.049)
Compulsory Secondary	-0.186	0.420	0.001	-1.132	-0.095	-0.136**
	(0.603)	(0.457)	(0.309)	(0.806)	(0.134)	(0.063)
Apprenticeship	0.119	-0.012	0.515***	-1.212	-0.019	-0.186***
	(0.588)	(0.438)	(0.151)	(0.754)	(0.130)	(0.043)
High School/Baccalaureate	0.694	-0.336	1.078***	-1.955**	0.027	-0.249***
	(0.620)	(0.466)	(0.280)	(0.783)	(0.135)	(0.059)
Higher Vocational Training	0.544	-0.159	0.492**	-1.513*	-0.079	-0.194***
	(0.618)	(0.453)	(0.241)	(0.775)	(0.133)	(0.047)
Higher Tech College	1.023	-0.730	0.967***	-1.667**	-0.008	-0.234***
	(0.658)	(0.519)	(0.162)	(0.757)	(0.130)	(0.044)
University	1.414**	-0.551	1.220***	-2.054***	-0.015	-0.251***
	(0.626)	(0.471)	(0.213)	(0.766)	(0.133)	(0.050)
Age	-0.014***	0.007*	-0.001	-0.002	0.004***	0.004***
	(0.004)	(0.004)	(0.005)	(0.004)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Female	0.341**	-0.176	0.092	-0.181	0.117***	0.051**
	(0.139)	(0.120)	(0.128)	(0.129)	(0.021)	(0.023)
Religiosity	0.147	0.001	-0.046	0.405***	0.024	0.103***
	(0.142)	(0.122)	(0.136)	(0.137)	(0.023)	(0.023)
cons	3.704***	2.431***	2.742***	5.094***	0.139	-0.117
	(0.672)	(0.502)	(0.419)	(0.843)	(0.143)	(0.076)
R2	0.106	0.058	0.088	0.080	0.122	0.149
N	864	863	771	763	772	767

Significance levels: * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$. Reference Categories: Income <3250 Fr., No formal schooling, Male, Region with no predominant Religion, Non-Religious/Atheist, *Values in parentheses are standard errors.[26]

[26] (p – Values of F-Tests for income and education (by models): Income: (1)0.986 (2) 0.154 (3)0.062 (4) 0.093 (5) 0.056 (6) 0.364; Education: (1)0.002 (2) 0.003 (3) 0.000 (4) 0.001(5) 0.176 (6) 0.000

effect, implying a more individualist value score. This is true for cultural values in 1996 (1 and 2) and 2007 (3 and 4) but only statistically significant in 1996. This ties in somewhat with the descriptive results above, which indicated that the Catholic value region might have lost some of its significance in 2007.

For personal conservation values, however, the direction of the effect changes, which is the more expected result. Income has no influence in 1996, but a significant one in 2007: by then, higher income categories have lower conservation values. The same relationship can be found for education over both waves and at the personal (model 6) and cultural level (model 4). Self-transcendence values are positively related to education, meaning that with increasing education levels (compared to no formal schooling), individualism increases on the self-transcendence values dimension in 2007.[27] The effect of age is mixed. On personal values, age has a highly significant positive effect for both values dimensions. For every additional year, personal values increase by .004 (range from -1 to 1) toward more collectivist value orientations. In 1996, the age coefficient is negative and highly significant for self-transcendence cultural values but positive for conservationist cultural values. This would mean that the older a person, the lower the self-transcendence values but the higher the conservationist cultural value orientation. This finding could also confirm an intergenerational value change as found by Inglehart and Baker (2000: 599).

For the female gender coefficient, the results are the exact opposite: Women seem to have a less conservationist and more self-transcendent cultural value orientation – tying in with the results of previous studies – but a more conservationist personal value orientation. Religiosity does affect conservation values positively, both at the cultural (model 4) and personal level (model 6). This indicates that religious people have higher conservationist value

[27] Tests to establish the effect of groups of variables (F-Tests) for income and education reveal that income has no effect as a whole or in higher income categories on any of the value variables ($p>0.05$). Education variables are jointly significant in all years and for all value types with the exception of the 2007 personal self-transcendence variable (model 5), for which neither income nor education have any influence.

orientations. To sum up, education, age and gender so far best explain variation in personal and cultural value orientations.

2.4.3 Determinants of Prosocial Behaviour

The next step is now to test the main hypothesis regarding the influence of values on prosocial behaviour. To this end, a series of logistic regressions were run, estimating different models with one common binary dependent variable: Active membership of at least one organisation in the area of culture, education, environment, charity and church/faith-based. Whereas models 1 to 3 contain the simple religiosity indicator (religious/not religious), models 4 to 6 use the Nicolet and Tresch (2010) indicator for belief and practices. The results are presented in table 2.3 in the appendix.

Models 1 and 2 include the same parameters, once for 1996 and once for 2007 respectively. The main explanatory variables are the two indicators for cultural values (Self-Transcendence/Self-Enhancement and Conservation/Openness to Change). For both years, the influence of the two value indicators remains insignificant. This result confirms the expectation that cultural values would determine active membership to a much lesser extent than personal values. The simple religiosity measure is highly significant for both years, while "Catholic Value Region" in no way plays a role in determining active membership, confirming results from table 2.3. Thus a (self-declared) religious person is more likely to be an active member of one of these service organisations. Taken as proxies for personal (religiosity) and cultural (predominantly Catholic region) values, these indicators perform according to the expectations that personal values, rather than cultural values, determine behaviour.

Of the control variables, age and gender have a positive and statistically significant influence on active membership as expected. The education

Table 2.4: Determinants of Active Membership of Organisations [a] by Year: Binary Logit Regression, Unstandardised Coefficients*

	(1) 1996	(2) 2007	(3) 2007	(4) 1996	(5) 2007	(6) 2007
Personal Values						
Self-Transcendence/ Self-Enhancement			1.163***			1.067***
			(0.349)			(0.366)
Conservation/ Openness to Change			0.144			-0.399
			(0.344)			(0.373)
Cultural Values						
Self-Transcendence/ Self-Enhancement	0.021	0.034	0.012	0.013	0.019	-0.000
	(0.052)	(0.060)	(0.060)	(0.057)	(0.064)	(0.065)
Conservation/ Openness to Change	0.083	-0.024	-0.016	0.077	-0.069	-0.040
	(0.058)	(0.060)	(0.062)	(0.064)	(0.064)	(0.067)
Income						
Income 3250-5250 Fr.	0.316	0.190	0.223	0.356	0.214	0.326
	(0.300)	(0.339)	(0.340)	(0.326)	(0.384)	(0.389)
Income 5250-7250 Fr.	0.259	0.212	0.185	0.346	0.239	0.243
	(0.309)	(0.330)	(0.330)	(0.337)	(0.371)	(0.374)
Income 7250-9250 Fr.	0.441	0.414	0.448	0.565*	0.444	0.498
	(0.287)	(0.342)	(0.340)	(0.325)	(0.379)	(0.380)
Income 9250-11250 Fr.	0.290	0.573	0.606*	0.415	0.570	0.625
	(0.328)	(0.356)	(0.356)	(0.356)	(0.387)	(0.393)
Income Over 11250 Fr	0.642*	0.513	0.643*	0.777**	0.686*	0.804*
	(0.347)	(0.386)	(0.390)	(0.374)	(0.416)	(0.420)
Education						
Compulsory Secondary	1.365	0.068	0.327	17.709***	-0.674	-0.339
	(1.121)	(1.370)	(1.293)	(0.617)	(1.633)	(1.504)
Apprenticeship	1.644	0.545	0.659	18.083***	0.009	0.102
	(1.116)	(1.330)	(1.246)	(0.545)	(1.585)	(1.454)
High School/Baccalaureate	2.333**	1.285	1.380	18.744***	0.717	0.784
	(1.157)	(1.374)	(1.287)	(0.614)	(1.634)	(1.500)
Higher Vocational Training	1.918*	0.367	0.507	18.406***	-0.159	-0.021
	(1.134)	(1.348)	(1.266)	(0.607)	(1.600)	(1.473)

Higher Tech College	3.034**	0.862	0.986	19.576***	0.253	0.350
	(1.229)	(1.334)	(1.251)	(0.753)	(1.590)	(1.461)
University	2.723**	0.746	0.874	19.257***	0.281	0.387
	(1.152)	(1.347)	(1.265)	(0.627)	(1.602)	(1.474)
Female	0.070	0.394**	0.255	0.043	0.483***	0.387**
	(0.182)	(0.174)	(0.177)	(0.200)	(0.186)	(0.193)
Age	0.014**	0.017***	0.013**	0.005	0.011	0.009
	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.006)	(0.007)	(0.007)
Predominantly Catholic Region	0.307	-0.026	-0.042	0.191	-0.200	-0.191
	(0.194)	(0.201)	(0.202)	(0.217)	(0.222)	(0.223)
Religiosity	0.678***	0.928***	0.905***			
	(0.185)	(0.185)	(0.187)			
Practising Christian				1.796***	2.477***	2.530***
				(0.281)	(0.285)	(0.297)
Uncommitted Christian				0.121	1.134***	1.169***
				(0.343)	(0.272)	(0.277)
Believe w/o Belonging				0.540**	0.622**	0.636**
				(0.266)	(0.259)	(0.260)
Post-Christian				0.636*	0.402	0.466
				(0.355)	(0.366)	(0.374)
cons	-4.251***	-2.928**	-3.102**	-20.492	-2.225	-2.675
	(1.242)	(1.486)	(1.415)	(0.000)	(1.752)	(1.634)
N	840	761	750	774	735	724

a Membership of organisations in the area of culture, environment, education, church and charity (vol 1). Reference Categories: <3250 Fr., No formal schooling, Male, Region with no predominant Religion, Non-Religious/Atheist, significance levels: * $p<$ .05. ** $p<$ .01. *** $p<$ .001. *Values in parentheses are standard errors.[28]

coefficient has the right sign but fails to become statistically significant in 2007 (model 2). As expected, the gender variable has a positive coefficient – which confirms that women are more likely to be active members in service organisations of this type. Of the income variables, only the top bracket has a significant impact on active membership compared to the lowest income

[28] (p – Values of Wald-Tests for income and education (by models): Income: (1) 0.536(2) 0.569 (3) 0.409 (4)0.410 (5) 0.496 (6) 0.370; Education: (1) 0.001 (2) 0.162 (3)0.239 (4)0.000 (5) 0.237 (6)0. 000.

bracket. As a group, however, the income variables have no impact on active membership. Education variables only reach statistical significance in 1996 – both individually and as a group - which confirms for 1996 a positive influence of education on membership of voluntary organisations.

If we turn to model 3, which adds Schwartz's (1994) two personal value indicators as main independent variables, it becomes clear that there is indeed a strong effect of personal values, but only for the self-transcendence dimension. Thus, individuals with more collectivist personal values on the self-transcendence dimension are more likely to be active members of service organisations. Self-transcendence values are benevolence and universalism. Collectivism on the conservation (i.e. upholding traditions etc.) dimension is insignificant for active membership. Religiosity remains a strong predictor of active membership of voluntary organisations but the gender variable fails to reach statistical significance when the personal value items are introduced.

Models 4, 5 and 6 differ only in that the simple religiosity measure is replaced with the Nicolet and Tresch (2010) religiosity measure. The introduction of this variable does not change the effect of either of the value variables: cultural values remain insignificant, as does the Catholic value region. Income, education and gender do not change in terms of effects. Of the personal values, the self-transcendence measure performs as strongly as before while the conservation measure now changes to having a negative, but immaterial effect. The latter may be due to the institutional component of the new religiosity indicator. Compared to the reference category, non-religious persons, particularly the categories "practising Christian" and "believe w/o belonging" are highly significant in determining active membership of organisations. The category "uncommitted Christian" is only relevant in 2007. The category "post-Christian" plays no significant role in determining active membership.[29]This tells

[29] F-tests reveal no significant independent influence of the category "Post-Christian" (p=0.271).

us that it is mainly the "God is important" component of the indicator that drives the results and confirms Driskell et al.'s (2008) findings. A side effect of introducing the new religiosity measure was that age no longer plays a role in determining membership. Even though the results in table A2.3 show no statistically significant influence of sub-national value regions (religious predominance), it would nevertheless be interesting to see whether any region specific effects can be found in terms of values and membership since at least the descriptive results in table 2.2 indicated as much. However, a separate interaction estimation (interacting all variables with Catholic value region) yielded no discernible effect of the sub-national region whatsoever.

Thus, not only could the importance of personal values on predicting behaviour be firmly established, but also the pre-eminence of personal values over cultural values.

2.5 Conclusion

This study aimed to provide new insights into the changing structure of value systems in Switzerland. More specifically, the hypothesis that active membership of service organisations is driven predominantly by personal values rather than cultural values was tested by constructing cultural level and individual level indicators. Furthermore, the validity of regarding sub-national cultural value regions based on religious denomination and measures of religiosity as proxies for different-level value indicators was evaluated.

The results presented here show two major findings: First, there is strong support for the claim that personal values are more decisive in determining prosocial behaviour than cultural values. This is confirmed, on the one hand, by the strong results for the personal values variables and religiosity measures in comparison to cultural values and cultural value regions – even when controlling for strong socio-economic predictors of active membership. The

second finding is that it is important to "unstuff the sausage", i.e. it is important to be careful about composite measures of value orientations. For the two basic value dimensions on both levels, the self-transcendence/self-enhancement emerged as the value cluster driving the effect on behaviour. Self-transcendence values, i.e. benevolence and universalism, were found to be driving active membership of service organisation. The conservation/openness to change dimension is inconsequential for active membership.

The study adds to the existing literature on the influence of values on behaviour in that it simultaneously tests the effect of two comparable value measures for individual and cultural values on prosocial behaviour. The puzzling rise of collectivist behaviour in supposedly individualist societies can be resolved in part by separating the issue of measurement level and value structure. This is to say that when measuring cultural values in terms of societal end-goals or predominant (religious) beliefs, cultural values play no part in explaining behaviour.

Personal values, or religiosity, on the other hand, explain considerable variance in individual behaviour. The country-level value changes that have been found in various studies are partly expressions of attitudinal changes. Therefore, even though attitudes may become more individualistic overall, prosocial behaviour is still determined by and large by collectivist personal values. However, there are some important caveats to this interpretation: Any analysis is only as good as the measures it employs. While this has been precisely a point of criticism when it comes to conceptually mixing values and attitudes, there may be better ways of measuring cultural values.

Related to this is my second point. Personal values could only be measured at one point in time, thus making any claims regarding value change somewhat shaky. This problem was partly remedied by employing proxies for the two

value levels (religiosity indicators), but with new data, conclusions regarding change would certainly gain in credibility. Thus, as a next step, longitudinal value comparisons should be undertaken. In the same vein, cross-country comparisons of the relationship between values and behaviour are needed because the results, as they stand, are not generalisable.

The third point regards the role of values in the general motivation structure. That is to say, what part of volunteer motivation is value driven? In order to answer this question, a more in-depth study of volunteer motivation – including all possible types of motivation – is necessary. The question of what motivates volunteers is the focus of the next chapter.

Appendix Chapter 2:

A2.1 List of Indicators Used

Name	Variables	Values	Value Labels	Wave
Vol 1	v24 v26 v29 v31	0/1	Active membership of at least one organisation in the area of church/faith-based, culture, environment, education and charity	1996 2007
Vol 2	v24 - v31	0/1	Active membership of any type of organisation	1996 2007
Vol 3	v26 v29 v31	0/1	Active Membership of at least one organisation in the area of culture, environment, education and charity	1996 2007
Personal Values: Self-Transcendence/Self-Enhancement (Schwartz)	v84 & v88 (self-tr.) v81&v85 (self-enh.)	-1 to 1	1= Self-Transcendence (Collectivism) -1= Self-Enhancement (Individualism)	2007
Personal Values: Conservation/Openness to Change (Schwartz)	V82, v87,v89 (conservation) v80, v83,v86 (openness to-chge.)	-1- to 1	1= Conservation (Collectivism) -1= Openness to Change (Individualism)	2007
Cultural Values: Self-Transcendence/Self-Enhancement	iss_c (inverted values)	1-6	6= Self-Transcendence (Collectivism) 1= Self-Enhancement (Individualism)	1996 2007
Cultural Values: Conservation/Openness to Change	iss_d	1-6	6= Self-Transcendence (Collectivism) 1= Self-Enhancement (Individualism)	1996 2007
Income	v253 recoded	1-6	Monthly income: "1"< 3250" 2"3250-5250" 3"5250-7250" 4"7250-9250" 5"9250-11250" 6"11250+"	1996 2007
Education	v238_96 v238_07 recoded	1-7	Scale of highest education achievement : 1=No formal schooling; 2=compulsory secondary; 3=Apprenticeship 4=High school 5= Higher vocational training 6= Higher	1996 2007

			technical college 7=University	
Gender	v235 recoded	0/1	Gender: 1 = Woman	1996 2007
Age	v236 recoded	18-91	Age in years	1996 2007
Religiosity	v187 recoded	0/1	1=Religious person 0= Not religious/atheist	1996 2007
Practising Christian	v186 v131 v192 v187 rec.	0/1	See Chapter 2 Tresch/Nicolet	1996 2007
Uncommitted Christian	"	0/1	See Chapter 2 Tresch/Nicolet	1996 2007
Believe w/o Belonging	"	0/1	See Chapter 2 Tresch/Nicolet	1996 2007
Post-Christian	"	0/1	See Chapter 2 Tresch/Nicolet	1996 2007
Catholic Value Region	Constructed from q110 and plz07	0/1	1= Predominantly Catholic 0= No predominant religion	1996 2007

Table A2.2: Schwartz's 10 Value Items (Schwartz 1994)

Domain	**Item**	**WVS 2007 Item**
Power	v81	It is important to this person to be rich
Achievement	v85	It is important to this person to be successful
Hedonism	v83	It is important to this person to have a good time
Stimulation	v86	It is important to this person to seek adventure and risk
Self-Direction	v80	It is important to this person to think up new ideas and be creative
Universalism	v88	It is important to this person to look after the environment
Benevolence	v84	It is important to this person to help people nearby
Tradition	v89	It is important to this person to continue traditions
Conformity	v87	It is important to this person to always behave properly
Security	v82	It is important to this person to live in secure surroundings

Chapter 3

Motivation to Volunteer

"That's the problem with charity. You must mean it. You have to mean things to help people." ("Will*", About a Boy*, 2002)[30]

3.1 Introduction

The question of why people help each other is particularly intriguing because of its wider moral implications. Whether there can be an unselfish form of helping or whether altruism ultimately serves self-interest (as part of an expanded utility function) dictates the kind of glue that holds society together. The last chapter established the importance of personal values for prosocial behaviour. It was found that cultural values may shape personal values but that they cannot be directly linked to prosocial behaviour such as volunteering. The personal self-transcendence values, benevolence and universalism, were found to be related to active membership of service organisations. Another way of thinking about antecedents of prosocial action, instead of in terms of values, is in terms of motivation, that is, the reason behind one's actions.

In studying motivation, there is one main distinction to be made, namely between endogenous and exogenous causes of actions. Endogenous causes are inner processes, i.e. cognition, while exogenous causes can be circumscribed as environmental influences, which are studied, for example, by behaviourists. A third alternative for motivational studies is the biological approach, which deals both with physiological (e.g. neuropsychology) and evolutionary aspects of motivation (e.g. evolutionary economics) and therefore includes endogenous and exogenous influences. Altruistic motivation has long been identified as a key ingredient of acting prosocially.

The role of altruism in helping behaviour has been investigated from various perspectives – from altruism as an extended utility function to altruism as an

[30] Film based on the Nick Hornby Novel (1998) of the same title. Screenplay: Peter Hedges, Chris and Paul Weitz.

evolutionary explanation for helping others. Regardless of the approach chosen, social scientists often position the implications of their findings on either side of the egoism/empathy divide in order to explain prosocial action. The consensus so far is that there must indeed be a number of different motives, altruistic and egotistic, present in people who engage in helping behaviour and many studies have therefore concentrated on identifying the prevalent motives for prosocial action. One example of this kind is the Volunteer Functions Inventory, developed by Clary et al. (1998: 636), which identifies the occurrence of motives for social volunteering employing a functional approach.

The functional approach focuses on the functional purposes served by prosocial action, i.e. the motives for prosocial action. These motives can be both self-oriented and other-oriented in nature. This could mean, for example, that a person helping out at the local charity shop may do so in order to meet new people, to pass time or because she feels strongly about the cause of the charity. These different functions that one activity can serve may be individually or jointly applicable to the person in question. The functional approach addresses the role of values for prosocial action only to the extent that it assumes a value function that is part of a set of functional attitudes.[31] This value function expresses the extent to which benevolence values motivate prosocial behaviour.

This study tries to answer the question of which motives underlie prosocial behaviour. In this particular instance, volunteering for nonprofit organisations in the social sector, as a form of prosocial action, is the focus of investigation. The activities involved all consist of helping strangers, even though, by extension, they can be seen as members of a local (regional) community. However, it is not simply the occurrence of certain motives that are of interest - a number of

[31] Although theories of behavioural functions focus on the individual's functions served by (prosocial) behaviour, they are not to be confused with economic models of utility maximization, which "...almost all [...] assume that all people are exclusively pursuing their material self-interest and do not care about social goals per se" (Fehr and Schmidt 1999: 817), i.e. that behaviour is not prosocial by definition. Exceptions to this popular canon are presented, for example, by Rabin (1993) or Fehr and Schmidt (1998).

studies have covered this aspect - but also the motive structure, which, according to our current knowledge, has received little to no attention. Linked to the question of motive structure is the specific role of values and the way in which they may influence motive structure, as values represent the link to altruistic motivation. As it is assumed that a number of different motives are to be found in volunteers, a deeper knowledge of this structure is indispensable to understanding motives for prosocial action. I thus contribute to theory-building in this field by identifying volunteer motives and by developing a new model of volunteer motivation incorporating personal values. The results are based on an online experiment in two (culturally) different regions in Switzerland.

In the following section, I will review the literature on civic engagement and motivation for prosocial action with a particular focus on functional theories and the role of values for the motivation to volunteer. From this, expectations regarding motives for volunteering and motive structure are formulated and my own model of volunteer structure, which emphasizes the role of personal values for volunteer motivation, is presented. Personal values are considered to be formed by cultural values and socialisation processes. I then proceed to test several models of volunteer motivation found in the literature, in addition to my own personal Values model. The next section presents the study design and data. The findings are then presented, followed by a discussion of the results and their implications for future work.

3.2 Volunteer Motivation

3.2.1 Motives for Prosocial Action

The study of motivation is the study of causes of specific actions. Actions can be studied at the individual or group level and in the context of volunteering are to be treated as "meaningful social action" (Weber 1972: 1), that is, action that is directed towards others and to which a subjective meaning can be attached. It benefits another individual or group in society but it does not preclude a

personal benefit for the individual acting prosocially.[32] Motivational causation in general has been explained endogenously (psychodynamic and cognitive causes) and exogenously (behaviourism) or by a combination of both (mediationist perspective) (Mook 1996: 8 ff.). A further perspective in motivational studies, and one that has been gaining in importance in economics recently, is the biological perspective, which incorporates physiological and evolutionary questions (ibid.).

While these different perspectives are employed in order to answer different aspects of the question of motivation, there is a broad consensus that human action is never solely determined by just one cause. Social motivation, i.e. motivation for behaviour that affects others or is affected by others (Mook 1996: 491) in particular is open to the "nature versus nurture" debate. Are the reasons for how we treat others to be found in our upbringing or perhaps part of human nature? Particularly "extreme" behaviour, such as altruism or anti-social behaviour, receive great interest by the research community. Here, we are interested in prosocial behaviour and therefore in the question of how individuals are motivated to act in the interest of others.

Altruistic motivation has been cited most frequently in the context of prosocial action. Two main mechanisms of action for altruistic behaviour have been identified: instinct and (negative/positive) reinforcement (Mook 1996: 519). The former has been studied in biological approaches or socialisation studies, whereas the latter is relevant for functional models (e.g. Omoto and Snyder 2002), where motivation can be altruistic or egoistic, or economic models of positive reinforcement, which often use an ultimately egoistic motivation model (e.g. Andreoni 1990). Reviewing the debate on the nature of motivation for prosocial action, Batson (1998: 302) concludes that for the time being, the so-called empathy hypothesis has won the upper hand and that egotistic motivations, while still a part of the set of motivations that induces individuals

[32] For an excellent review of work on altruism and civic engagement across various disciplines, see (Haski-Leventhal 2009).

to act prosocially, come secondary to or are part of altruism motivated by values instilled by social norms and evolutionary factors.

As we have seen, economic theories consider the motivational basis of prosocial action in terms of positive reinforcement. Moreover, they differentiate between intrinsic and extrinsic motivation. Intrinsic motivation includes benefits of volunteering for the recipient (Argyle 1999), the effect of the work itself (Deci and Ryan 2000) and the effect of volunteering on the volunteer in terms of feeling good about oneself, i.e. a "warm-glow" effect (Andreoni 1990: 464). Extrinsic motivation is explained by the benefits of external payoffs (Hackl et al. 2007). Evolutionary economics, on the other hand, tries to explain social behaviour from evolutionary aspects (e.g. Simon 1993; Fehr and Schmidt 1999; Manner and Gowdy 2009). What one might call evolutionary altruism can range from being beneficial to the individual (e.g. reciprocity) to being beneficial to a larger population (e.g. self-sacrifice in battle), but is distinct from acts of prosocial behaviour towards strangers or prosocial acts that lack this distinct selfless component. The latter are still a form of individual-level action, although the rationale differs considerably. Prosocial behaviour towards strangers cannot be explained by evolutionary theories but it may still be altruistically motivated. Prosocial action without altruistic motivation - e.g. a clearly egoistic career motivation - may be explained by evolutionary factors but poses no puzzle in terms of altruism.

Social psychologists study the antecedents and maintenance of volunteering at a more general level more in terms of its mechanisms. Two main theoretical models serve as explanations: the functional model (Omoto and Snyder 2002; Clary et al. 1998), an arousal and affect theory of functional attitudes, and the role identity model (Piliavin and Callero 1991), which builds on socialisation and learning.[33] Three mechanisms are involved: learning; social and personal standards; arousal and affect (Penner et al. 2005). For role identity models, the

[33] An integrated approach, incorporating both models, is the volunteer process model (Penner 2002; Finkelstein et al. 2005).

perceived role, for example as a volunteer, affects the level of involvement. Priming theories (e.g. Verplanken and Holland 2002), are constructed on similar premises and as we will see in chapter 4, are linked to affective stimuli, as are arousal and affect theories.

Arousal and affect theories assume that people behave in ways which help them to attain a specific goal. Feelings of upset, sadness or guilt (affect) produce egotistically motivated helping in the sense that they stimulate action that is designed to alleviate one's own guilt or upset. Empathy or compassion produces altruistically motivated helping. The stimuli that lead (partly through cognitive processes) to affect (or feelings) can be manifold, for example messages, pictures, experiences etc. Henceforth, we will call affective stimuli persuasive messages or incentives. Both have the goal of affecting individuals. Persuasive messages and incentives are contextual factors of volunteer motivation. Processes of arousal and affect are mediated to some extent by learning and personal standards, on the other hand, meaning that the extent of affect is dependent on socialisation and value systems, which in turn are linked to group processes.

Processes concerned with social institutions (e.g. family and religious organisations) and demographic factors have also been linked to the propensity to volunteer (e.g., Wilson 2000). It was found, for example, that people from volunteer families and members of a religious community tend to volunteer more. The same goes for better educated and wealthier people (Wilson and Musick 1997; Campbell 2009). Explanations for this phenomenon are attributed to the availability of resources (such as contacts and skills), which lead to a higher likelihood of being asked or feeling obliged to volunteer.[34] Other demographic factors are gender and ethnicity – the effect of these, however, is more likely to be linked to social exclusion. Other societal or group aspects of

[34] Hackl et al. (2007) provide an alternative explanation for the relevance of income on volunteering. They test the investment model of volunteering - similar to the resource model (see Wilson and Musick 1999; Bekkers 2005) - which assumes that through skill acquisition, contacts etc., an individual's own human capital can be increased.

behaviour are studied in the context of social capital (e.g. Welzel et al. 2005; Schmid 2002; Curtis et al. 2001; Dekker and Uslaner 2001) or cultural values (Johnson et al. 1989; Welzel et al. 2005; Bardi and Schwartz 2003; Schwartz 1994; Curtis et al. 2001).

As we saw in chapter 2, the role of values for volunteer motivation plays an important role in explaining altruism, as - beyond evolutionary explanations - values are seen as a link between motives and prosocial action. As values shape attitudes, attitude functions are pivotal for the understanding of volunteer motives.

3.2.2 Functional Theories of Motivation

Functional theories of motivation originated in the attitude function theory which saw attitude function as a moderator between attitudes and values (e.g. Katz 1960; Shavitt 1989; Maio and Olson 1995; Julka and Marsh 2000). Traditional definitions of attitude involve three aspects: evaluation, representation in memory, and affective, cognitive and behavioural antecedents (as well as behavioural consequences) (Tesser and Shaffer 1990; Olson and Zanna 1993). It is the latter aspect, affect (feeling and emotion), cognition (process and knowing) and behaviour, that is of interest in the context of prosocial action. Values are considered to be antecedents of attitudes which in turn influence behaviour. For the rational actor model it is assumed that intention is the best predictor of behaviour. Intentions, on the other hand are influenced by attitudes and can vary depending on context or behavioural disposition. Non-rational actor models take into account unconscious activation of attitudes and framing in guiding behaviour, with prospect theory (e.g. Kahnemann and Tversky 1984) being one example of this.

Functional theories of attitude examine purposes of holding different attitudes. Attitude functions are measured either directly by subjects' self-declaration or

indirectly via personality traits (i.e. self-monitoring) (Tesser and Shaffer 1990). Action is subject to individual attitudes which are, in turn formed to meet individual needs. These needs behind attitudes are termed an attitude function and recent functional perspectives have identified five (Julka and Marsh 2000) or six (Clary et al. 1998) such functions: knowledge, ego-defensive, value-expressive, social-adjustment and utilitarian, enhancement.[35]
The volunteer process model (Omoto and Snyder 1995, 2002; Clary et al. 1998), an arousal and affect theory of functional attitudes, has at its core the antecedents of prosocial behaviour in volunteers. Extended models of longevity of volunteering , which include socioeconomic status, personality traits, motivation, intensity of activity and subjective experience during volunteering, have also been suggested more recently (Davis et al. 2003). One of the most frequently tested models for volunteer motivation, however, is the Volunteer Functions Inventory (Clary et al. 1998).

3.2.3 The Volunteer Functions Inventory

The Volunteer Functions Inventory (VFI) builds on the Volunteer Process Model (Omoto and Snyder 1995), but finds six attitude functions. These are Values, Protection, Career, Social, Understanding and Enhancement. The six factors were established by exploratory factor analysis.[36] Clary et al. (1998) ran a total of six studies, with different samples, on the role of motives and incentives for volunteering. They included two studies assessing the dimensionality of motives, one to test their temporal stability,[37] one on the role of persuasive appeal in recruiting volunteers, a further study to predict volunteers' satisfaction and a final one to predict volunteer commitment. Cross-validation confirmed the six-factor model to be the most appropriate for active volunteer samples, compared to a five- and seven-factor solution or a one-, two- or

[35] Some older studies put the number of identifiable attitude functions at four factors (see Anderson and Kristiansen 1990; Herek 1987), leaving out the utilitarian attitude, or two (Frisch and Gerrard 1981) or even one (Cnaan and Goldberg-Glen 1991) factor.
[36] The VFI showed temporal stability over a 1-month interval (Clary et al. 1998)
[37] They found a test-retest correlation of between .64 and .78 over 4 weeks (1552). Wu et al. (2009: 772) reported .56 to .73 over 8 weeks.

second order factor model (Okun et al. 1998; Wu et al. 2009 1742: 776). The latter posits that the first-order dimensions (six) correlate due to a common second order *general motivation to volunteer* (Okun et al. 1998: 610). In both cases, however, the differences between a first-order six-factor model and a second-order model were minimal.[38]

Of the six motives, the Value motive focuses on the welfare of others and can therefore be regarded as the most altruistic motive. The Protection motive aims to deflect from negative aspects of the personality, such as guilt, boredom etc. and can be regarded as a predominantly egoistic motive. The Career motive is a utilitarian motive concerned with furthering one's own career prospects. The Social motive reacts to social expectations of an individual's environment and is probably closer to altruism, as it is other-focused. The Understanding motive is concerned with learning new information or skills and is an egoistical motive. Finally, the Enhancement motive is concerned with enhancing positive– unlike the Protection motive – aspects of one's personality. This can involve self-realization, social relations etc. It is also considered as a self-focused type of motive. The most important motives for volunteering were found to be Values, followed by Enhancement and Understanding. The Career motive was the least relevant motive for this sample. The same order occurred when regressing motives on volunteer satisfaction for a sample of volunteers. When cross-validating the instrument with a student sample, the Understanding motive moved up to second place and the Career motive to fourth place. These findings show clearly that motive structure is somewhat dependent on the sample but the prevalence of the Value motive in volunteers was confirmed in a host of similar studies (Omoto and Snyder 1995; Okun et al. 1998; Penner et al. 2004; Finkelstein et al. 2005). If we compare the VFI with Schwartz's (1994) personal value dimensions (Table 2.1, chapter 2), clear paralells can be found. The Social and Protection motives can be compared to the Conservation dimension, and the Understanding and partly the Enhancement motives can be

[38] Other differences between this study and these two studies relates to the number of participants (801 students in our case, 279 students in Wu et al. (2009) and 409 participants over 50 years of age in Okun and Herzog (1998).

attributed to the Openness to Change dimension. Career, and again Enhancement, are linked to Self-Enhancement, while the Value motive is clearly a Self-Transcendence value. In personal values studies, however, only the Self-Transcendence dimension has a significant influence on prosocial behaviour. This may confirm the assumption that values are a higher-order, enduring motive, separate from other attitude functions.

A number of authors compare the VFI functional attitudes with other factors, such as personality traits, in terms of their influence on volunteer outcomes. Carlo et al. (2005) investigate the link between motives and personality traits in relation to prosocial action. As described above, both serve as a means of measuring attitude functions. For a student sample, the VFI served as a measure for volunteer motives, whereas the "Big Five" Inventory (John and Srivastava 1999) assessed personality traits (Agreeableness, Extraversion, Conscientiousness, Neuroticism, Openness). Among the personality traits, agreeableness had the strongest correlation with the value motive, which, again, was the strongest predictor of volunteering. Incidentally, trust, is one of the six factors of agreeableness. Furthermore, both Extraversion and Agreeableness showed significant indirect effects on volunteering via the Value motive. Finkelstein (2009) contributes to this literature by adding work motivation to the equation. Intrinsic and extrinsic work motivation seem to be correlated to their corresponding VFI functions divided along these lines (with the career motive being the only external motivation for volunteering). A number of studies have examined the effects of motivation on volunteer outcomes, such as volunteer duration and satisfaction, employing the VFI (Allison et al. 2002; Omoto and Snyder 1995; Penner and Finkelstein 1998; Van Vianen et al. 2008). Taken together, these studies seem to imply that the Value motive is the most endurable motive for volunteering. The ranking of the other five motives is highly dependent on the sample chosen. This would be expected if we assume that values are temporally stable. Furthermore, as values shape attitudes and attitude functions serve as moderators between values and

attitudes, value motives must have a special status in an individual's motive structure.

3.2.4 The Volunteer Motive Structure

The aim of this study is first to cross-validate the VFI instrument with confirmatory factor analysis for our sample (801 students) and to test several volunteer motive models suggested in the literature. Moreover, I wish to explicitly incorporate personal values into the volunteer motivation structure and suggest a Values model which models values as a latent factor.

In fact, surprisingly little is known about the structure of volunteer motives.[39] While in the functional studies discussed, volunteers generally feel strongly about Value items (means), in confirmatory factor analysis the Value motive has a relatively low factor loading (second-order models) but high correlations with other factors (Okun et al. 1998). As indicated, the six-factor model seems to fit reasonably well across samples and Enhancement and Understanding emerge as important secondary predictors of volunteer motivation. The Social motive does not perform very well on its own, but again, like the Value motive, it is linked to the formation of attitudes via socialisation or cognitive learning (Dovidio et al. 2006; Grusec et al. 2002; Cialdini and Goldstein 2004) and has been found to be an important predictor in the context of volunteer outcomes (Van Vianen et al. 2008; Mattis et al. 2009). It is therefore reasonable to assume that the Value and Social motives occupy a superordinate position in the motive structure for prosocial behaviour. A second-order Values model should therefore be tested to account for this assumed motive structure. Moreover, following the results of the studies discussed above, in a student sample, high factor loadings for the Understanding and Career motives , behind Values and Enhancement, would be expected.

[39] Homer and Kahle's (1988) study presents an exception in this respect. They found a multilevel structure of values, attitudes and behaviour.

The second aim of this study is to test some of the most recent functional models of volunteering suggested in the literature (six-factor, second-order). As a substantial part of respondents are not active volunteers, however, I would expect slightly weaker results for the tested models than other volunteer studies have attained. In a last step, I wish to model my theoretical expectations of the role of values for volunteer motivation. To this end, a model that foresees the Value and Social items as indicators of a Personal Value latent construct, which in turn influences Volunteer Motivation (latent construct), will be tested. Thus a combination of Values and Socialisation affects Personal Values. Personal Values, in turn, shape Volunteer Motivation, which is the individual combination of motivational factors leading to prosocial behaviour. I test the model on two separate samples, which were drawn from two different linguistic regions in Switzerland, as these have been found to constitute separate value regions by some authors (Schwartz 1999; Inglehart and Oyserman 2004).[40] As participants are comparable in age and educational standard, these factors need not be controlled for. No significant differences in terms of gender are expected, as the "socialisation of women into nurturing roles" (Wilson and Musick 1997: 700) does not necessarily affect values, but rather attitudes towards gender roles. I thus hope to gain greater insights into the motive structure of volunteers and, equally importantly, into the role of values for volunteer motives.

3.3 Study overview

3.3.1 Study Design

[40] Stadelmann-Steffen et al. (2007) found in a recent survey no clear differences in volunteer motives between linguistic regions in Switzerland (78). French-speaking respondents stated egoistic motives slightly less frequently than respondents from the German-speaking part (personal correspondence with the author). In the French-speaking part, there was a higher share of individuals volunteering for charity work, however (51). Although it is not altogether clear wherein these differences should lie, it is possible that there are sub-national cultural value differences to be found. We therefore chose to conduct our study for two separate populations – a French-speaking and a German-speaking one – in order to test these findings.

While a series of studies have already tried to answer some of the questions outlined above, many are open to criticism on methodological grounds (see our discussion above). Studies that examine volunteer motives using survey evidence have to rely heavily on retrospective questions and hardly allow for measuring changes in the motivations over time. Similarly, to assess the effect of incentives in volunteer work, survey data can only yield self-assessments by those interviewed. Experiments carried out in laboratories may overcome the latter problem, since the researcher has control over experimental stimuli offered. However, for the other questions to be addressed in the study - the change of motives over time - lab experiments suffer from their rather short duration. Hence, these experimental setups would only allow us to test half of our hypotheses. In addition, as discussed above, some of the results obtained in the context of lab experiments suffer from insufficient controls and problems of external validity. The results of this study are based on an online experiment and a field experiment.

In the field experiment, we first assess the effect of persuasive motivational messages on potential volunteers. In a second step, selective incentives are used in order to test their effect on volunteer commitment and volunteer satisfaction. The findings for the field experiment are reported in chapter 5. Parallel to the field experiment, an online experiment is conducted in order to reduce possible motivational bias due to the exposure to persuasive messages prior to the motivational assessment. Because of this possible bias - and the low number of participants for the field experiment - the results of the online experiment will be used for the evaluation of motive structure.

The design of the online experiment can be described as follows: In a first step, participants are asked what their motivations would be to start volunteering, first in an open question, and then in a closed format. Based on this information, we form groups of respondents sharing the same motivation. Each of these "motivational categories" is divided into seven sub-groups for treatments (six functional motive advertisements plus one neutral). In a follow-

up questionnaire participants are presented with the advertisement according to their sub-group and asked whether this sufficiently appeals to them in order to take up volunteering (chapter 4). This part of the study is concerned with volunteer motives only.

3.3.2 Participants

801 university students (36% male, 64% female) were recruited to take part in this experiment. Half of the students were in the German-speaking part of Switzerland, and the other half were in the French-speaking part. 71% of participants have some kind of volunteer experience (present and/or prior). The invitation to take part was sent to 8000 randomly drawn e-mail addresses. A material incentive (book voucher) was offered for participation.[41]

3.3.3 Procedure

As a first step, an e-mail invitation to take part in a two-part online survey was sent out to 8000 randomly drawn student e-mail addresses. The invitation contained a link to the online-survey. It made no mention of the project contents but cited the incentive to be received after the completion of both parts of the survey.[42]

The first part of the experiment presented participants with an online survey.[43] They were first asked to cite (in order of preference) three possible reasons for doing voluntary work for a nonprofit organisation. They were then presented with thirty volunteer motive items from the Volunteer Functions Inventory (VFI) following Clary (1994: 1520). A list of measures used, including their summary

[41] The survey was anonymous to the extent that the participants were not asked for their name. However, not allof the e-mail addresses were anonymous, however, as they contained parts of or full names. All data is treated confidentially.
[42] The survey was closed after 801 valid responses were collected (400 and 401 at each respective location).
[43] Pre-tests were run at both locations.

statistics, can be found in the appendix (Table A3.1). For each of the six motives, there are five items (scale from 1 to 6 – not at all true to completely true). Some items were adapted slightly (to a neutral formulation) in order to account for the fact that a large part of respondents were not active volunteers. The wording of the questions is listed in the appendix (Table A3.2) All questions had to be answered. This first part of the questionnaire allowed conclusions to be drawn about the prevalent motive for volunteering in respondents.

The next part of the questionnaire asked whether respondents were currently and/or had ever been active volunteers (and in which field). This part of the questionnaire allowed the possibility to be tested that active volunteers have a different motive structure from non-volunteers. The last part of the questionnaire consisted of a number of items regarding socio-demographic details of respondents. These were gender, age, employment status, highest educational achievement and income. For the purpose of examining the motive structure of our student sample, only the closed question (VFI items) was used.[44] Pairwise correlations between the open questions and the corresponding closed motive items were significant at the 5% level for all pairs except the Social items. The correlations between the open questions and the latent constructs confirm that the open questions correspond to the closed constructs to some extent. All items were significantly correlated with the corresponding latent construct (5% level of significance), with the exception of the Protection and Social items, which failed to reach significance. Furthermore, a clear negative correlation between the open Career and Values items and the latent constructs Values and Career was shown. We decided to refrain from using the open motive questions for the assignment of motive type for two reasons: The coding of the answers for the open questions revealed that the answers related partly to informal volunteering and helping in one's own immediate family. As Penner et al. (2005: 375) pointed out, interpersonal helping related to friends and family is predominantly driven by a sense of personal obligation. This may distort results to some extent as the VFI items

[44] Coding errors can be reduced in terms of motive attribution.

related to volunteering in nonprofit organisations specifically. Furthermore, there is more room for error in handcoding answers.
Moreover, including the open items in the structural models does not improve the latent constructs.
The method chosen is structural equation modelling (SEM), with AMOS 17 (Byrne 2009). The sample was split (random procedure) in order to avoid purely sample driven conclusions. First, the factorial validity was tested with confirmatory factor analysis (CFA), and then the structural validity of models across random samples was estimated. As all observed indictors are of an ordinal scale,[45] Bayesian estimation (MCMC algorithm) was used throughout (O'Brien 1985; Dunson et al. 2005; DiStefano 2002).[46] The approach chosen to fit the structural model is strictly theory driven, however. As we use Bayesian estimation, we will refrain from model modifications following indices provided by Amos for ML estimation.[47]

3.4 Findings:

3.4.1 What Motivates Volunteers

As a first step, a measurement model for all of the 30 VFI items is established which estimates regression weights for all observed variables in the model (without correlations of latent variables). The internal consistencies (Cronbach's alpha) for the six factors were all acceptable to good[48] and in line with studies discussed above.

[45] Principal component factors, oblique rotation promax, plus principal components correlations with Stata10. We acknowledge the problematic assumptions in terms of the scale of our attitude data (see discussions thereof in Velleman (1993) or Michell (1999) by using Bayesian estimation for structural equation modelling.
[46] Bollen (1989) points out that in robustness tests, the use of categorical variables in models for continuous variables, such as ordinary ML estimation, was most problematic with variables of fewer than 5 categories and opposite skew. While we have no problem with the first requirement, the latter is the case with Career and Social items (cf. Table A3.1).
[47] For purely informational purposes, we include some model fit statistics for ML-estimation across our models in the appendix, Table A3.7.
[48] These were: Values .760; Social .849; Protection .705; Enhancement .777; Understanding .807; Career .769. (N=801)

Split samples were used for split-sample validation, i.e. checking for sampling errors in two separate samples and therefore preventing our model from only fitting one particular sample. First, three models - first-order multifactor model, second-order model and Values model - are tested on the first random sample (N=401). I then compare the results to those of the second random sample (N=400) and finally discuss the results for the whole sample (N=801).

3.4.2 First random sample

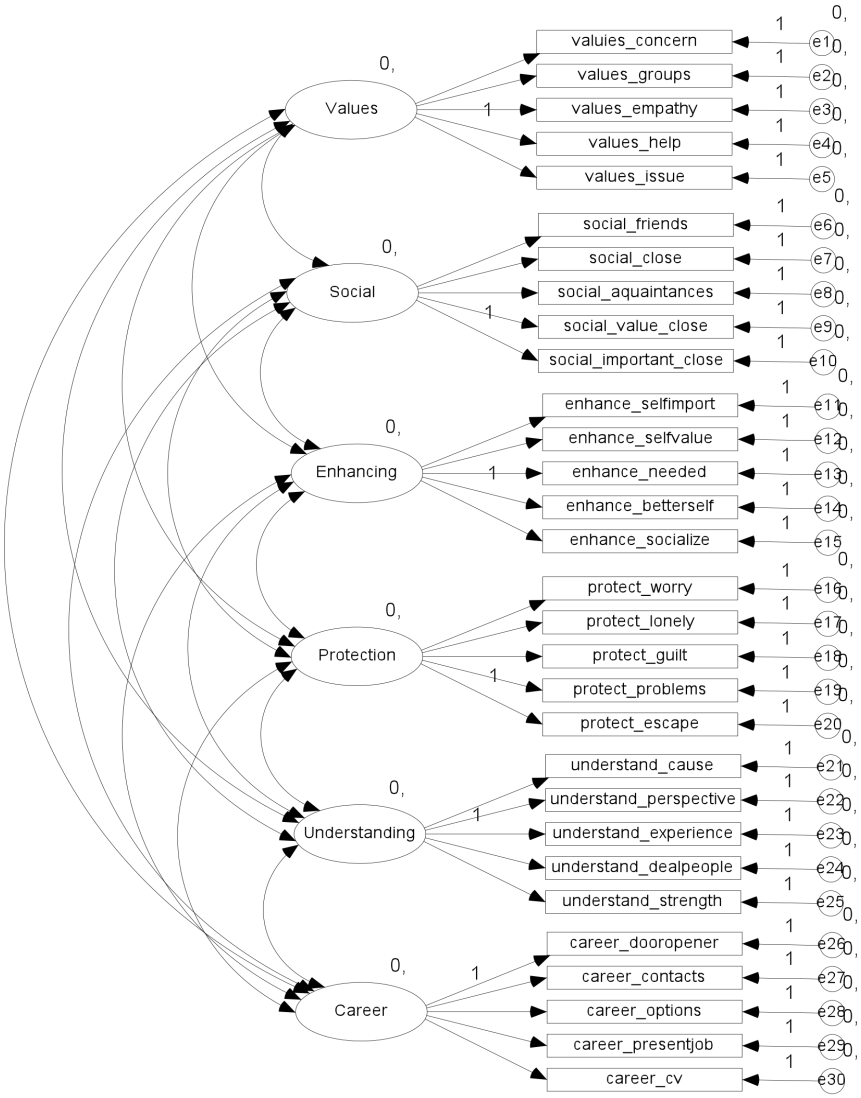
The first model tested was the first-order multifactor model (Figure 3.1) which includes correlations between all latent variables and tests the six-factor-model (Okun et al. 1998), i.e. the hypothesis that individuals are motivated to volunteer by the six distinctive motives Values, Social, Understanding, Enhancement, Protection and Career (Clary et al. 1998). Unlike other results reported (Clary et al. 1992; Omoto and Snyder 1995), negative correlations between altruistic and egoistic motives were found: Career and Values had a slightly negative correlation of .094 (.027 for the whole sample), which is what would be conceptually expected. However, the result was limited to this one factor pair. The highest correlations were found between Protection and Enhancement (between .628; and .674 for the whole sample), Career and Understanding (between .566 and .588 for the whole sample) and Enhancement and Understanding (between .457 and .530 for the whole sample).

The model was specified with unrelated error terms of the 30 observed variables and nonzero loadings on one latent factor, with one parameter per latent variable being fixed at 1.

The variance of each latent variable was to be estimated freely, resulting in a measurement scale of the latent variable to be equal to that of the observed variables (Byrne 2009). In order to assess the utility of the multifactor model, the factor loadings of the observed variables can be examined. The factor

loadings were generally slightly higher than in the measurement model and no factor had a loading of less than .40 on the latent construct.

Figure 3.1: Multifactor First-Order Model of Volunteer Motivation

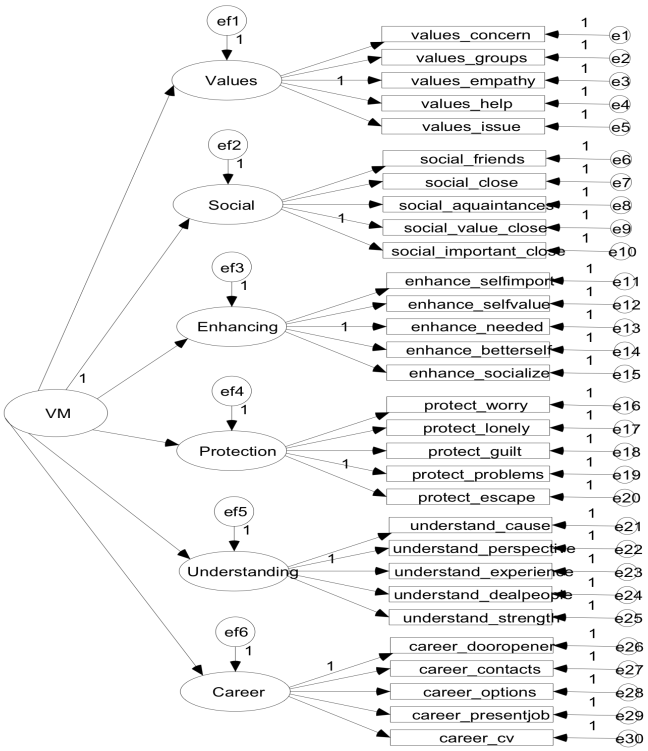


The lowest factor loadings were for the items "values issue" ("I can do something for a cause that is important to me"), the "enhance social"

("Volunteering is a way to make new friends") and the "Protect guilt" ("Volunteering relieves me of some of the guilt of being more fortunate than others") items (error terms .82, .78 and .85 respectively).

The second-order model proposed by Okun et al. (1998) tests the theory that the six latent constructs are, in fact, indicators of a more general motive to volunteer.

Figure 3.2: Second-Order Model of Volunteer Motivation (Okun et al. 1998)



Although they found lower fit-indices for the second-order model, compared to the first-order multifactor-model, they conclude that "...one can argue that the second-order factor model is superior to the six-factor model because the former provides a more parsimonious explanation of the motivation to volunteer than the latter" (Okun et al. 1998: 615). Figure 3.2 depicts the second-order model that was tested empirically.

The second-order model consists, again, of the six latent factors, Values, Social, Protection, Enhancement, Career and Understanding. A second-order factor, Volunteer Motivation (VM), is thought to influence the six latent first-order factors. The loadings of the first-order factors on Volunteer Motivation were allowed to be estimated freely, with each first-order factor having an additional (fixed) error residue. Krause (1993) suggested that the utility of first- versus second-order models could be established by comparing factor loadings in each model. Table A3.3 (Appendix) shows factor loadings for all tested models for the first random sample.

When comparing the factor loadings for the first-order and second-order models, it can be seen that factor loadings are generally higher in the second-order model, thus indicating a better model fit.[49] The factor loadings for the first-order latent variables show stronger loadings for Enhancement and Protection but considerably weaker loadings for all other latent constructs. From a theoretical point of view, this result would indicate that it is indeed egoistic motives that are a stronger indicator for the volunteer motivation construct.

The second aim of this study was to explore the role of values in forming attitude functions, or more specifically, to try and model the Values and Social factors into a latent values construct. I shall term this construct "Personal Values" (cf. Bardi and Schwartz 2003). Conceptually, as discussed above, I

[49] Wu et al. (2009: 776) find a slightly better model fit for the first-order, six-factor model. Their sample was much smaller though (N=279).

posit that Social and Values factors form a latent second-order Personal Values construct. Personal Values influence the formation of Volunteer Motives, the second-order construct from the previous, second-order model (Okun et al. 1998). Figure 3.3 depicts this Personal Values Model, which we test empirically.

The specification is similar to the second-order model for the observed first-order variables. The latent constructs Protection, Enhancement, Career and Understanding relate to the latent construct Volunteer Motivation (VM), which in turn has a residual error term "evm1". The structural path VM-Enhancement has a fixed value (1). The latent constructs Values and Social, are linked with "Personal Values" (PV). The structural path PV - Values is also fixed (1). The structural path PV-VM is fixed at 1. The model is identified.

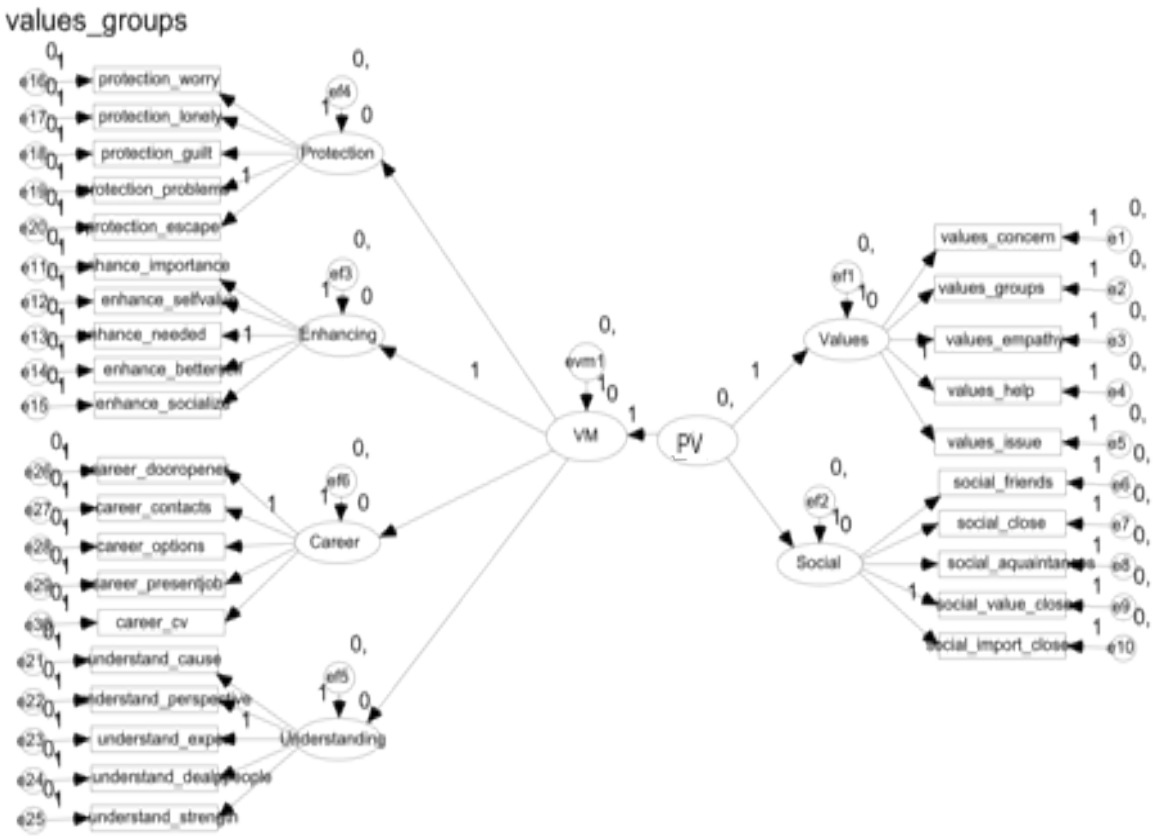
In the new model, the factor loadings for the observed first-order variables change only marginally from the second-order model. The results of the estimation are listed in Table A3.3 in the appendix (Values Model). What do change, however, are the factor loadings of Social and Values on Personal values. When we look at the standardized direct effects of the model, we find an effect of .565 for Values on Personal Values and .424 of Social on Personal values.

The effect of Personal Values on Volunteer Motivation is .734. Amos 17 provides diagnostic plots in order to check convergence of the Bayesian MCMC method. They show the posterior distribution of chosen parameters of the model (Gelman et al. 2004). Autocorrelation plots can be an indicator of poorly estimated parameters and suggest that the model may be too complex for the data or that more information about prior distribution must be given (Lopes and West 2004).[50]

[50] This becomes evident, for example, if autocorrelations fail to decrease towards 0 with more iterations.

When examining the posterior plots for the Values model, it becomes apparent that some of the estimators remain problematic for this sample. Estimation on the full sample will show, however, whether these are sample-specific.

Figure 3.3: Personal Values Model of Volunteer Motivation



For the first sample, estimators improve from first-order to second order models but remain almost the same from the second order to the Values model. What differs in the values model is that the values and social latent construct have a greater influence and the influence of Personal Values (PV) is very high (.876). From these results, it seems justified to use the Values model as it corresponds more closely to the theoretical construct.

3.4.3 Second Random Sample

The Values model was then tested for configural invariance with the second Sample (N=400). This allows it to be checked that the estimation results are not simply a result of specific sample properties. If this is the case, the factor loadings for the two samples should be very similar. First, if we compare the three models for the second sample, we can observe the same trend as in the first sample; factor loadings increase from the first-order to the second-order models (Table A3.4 Appendix). Between the second-order model and the Values model, there is some difference for the values items. Factor loadings are slightly higher for the second-order model. Other differences are minimal but show a trend towards being slightly higher in the second order model.

Secondly, the factor loadings between the two samples for the Values model, which is our structural model, are compared. The factor loadings for the Values model do differ slightly between the first and the second sample (Table A3.5 Appendix). The Protection items load higher in the second sample, while Understanding items load higher in the first sample. Consequently, the Understanding-Volunteer Motivation coefficient has a higher value in the second sample, compared to the Enhancement coefficient (which is fixed). Furthermore, Career has a higher factor loading in the second sample. T-tests for differences between samples for the 30 VFI items as well as for the latent variables do not show any significant differences between the samples, however. As a final step, we shall compare the values for the whole sample and look at specific differences between the two sampled populations in Geneva (French-speaking) and Zurich (German-speaking).

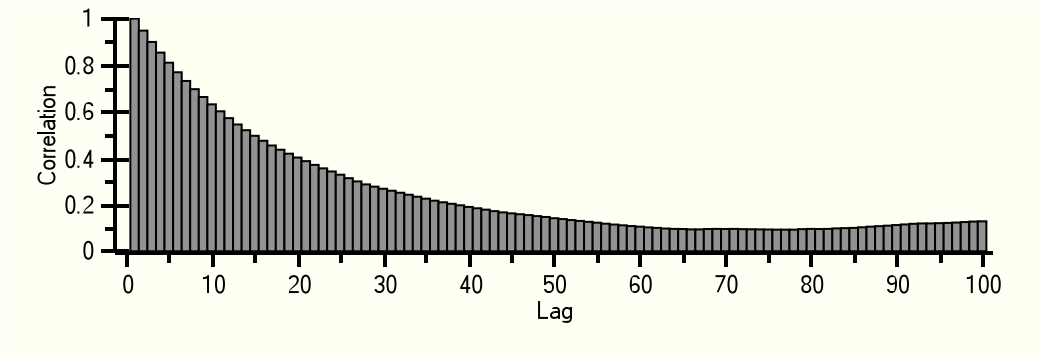
3.5 Correlates of Volunteer Motivation

T-tests of group variance revealed that there were, in fact, significant effects in the means of the latent motivation constructs between French-speaking and German-speaking respondents. Significant differences can be found for Values,

Enhancement and Protection, as well as the superordinate Personal values and Volunteer Motivation.[51] These differences are further discussed in chapter 4.

Turning to the results for the three models for the whole sample (Table A3.6 Appendix) the results of the first sample are confirmed. A comparison of factor loadings for the three models can be found in Table A3.6 (Appendix). Factor loadings for the observed motive variables improve from the first-order model to the second-order model but remain virtually the same between the second-order model and the Values model. The factor loadings for the latent variables are all over .5 and seem to confirm the influence of the thus modelled Personal Values construct. The distributions of the latent variable constructs are all around 0.2 (skewness). Posterior distribution plots still show some problematic variables, however, namely the values_groups item (Figure 3.4), which shows the strongest autocorrelations after 100 iterations, the autocorrelation between any sampled value and the value 100 iterations later still lies at 0.2 (Arbuckle 2005). This might mean, that the amount of burn-in samples should be increased, which is our next step.

Figure 3.4: Autocorrelation Plot Posterior Distribution Values Groups - Values



When the burn-in samples are increased from 500 to 1000, the autocorrelation plot for the values_groups-Values parameter does not improve. Most of the

[51] T-Tests for gender revealed some significant differences between men and women in terms of the Values and Understanding motives, with women having significantly higher scores. We do not, however, take this as proof for a socialisation hypothesis.

other autocorrelations decrease towards 0 with more iterations, while a few - like this one - hardly improve at all. It might be the case that this variable does not fit well into this model, for the sample.

Another way to compare models is to examine the relationship of their factors to other variables outside the model (Okun et al. 1998). When the correlations between socio-economic variables and the latent constructs are compared (Table A3.7 Appendix), we find that it is the Personal Values, Values and Understanding variables that correlate with gender and the Geneva dummy. The Volunteer Motivation construct, Protection and Enhancement correlate with the Geneva dummy only. In other words, women, generally, can be linked to the Values dimension and students from Geneva, in general, to the Motives to Volunteer (VM), thus confirming the results of the T-tests described above. All latent constructs, with the exception of Career and Protection, are significantly correlated with Volunteer Experience (volex). As stronger effects are found for the Volunteer Motivation (VM) and Personal Values (PV) variables and somewhat varied but largely insignificant effects of the six value dimensions are detected, it can be concluded that the second-order and values structures provide a better fit with the data.

To conclude, in a comparison across three models - the first-order multifactor model, the second-order model and the Values model - it was found that the second-order and Values models were superior to the first-order model in terms of conceptual clarity and the estimated model parameters. The Values model is preferred over the second-order model, because it provides a better explanation of how values influence attitudes. Random sample tests showed no major sample-related problems. It became clear, however, that there are indeed motivational differences between the two linguistic regions, as earlier studies indicated.

3.6 Discussion

The aim of this study was to gain a better understanding of volunteer motives and their underlying structure. To this end, I have tested several models of volunteer motivation suggested in the literature. More specifically, a first-order multivariate model (Clary et al. 1998), a second-order model (Okun et al. 1998) and my own Values model were tested. I found the latter to be superior to the other two in terms of conceptual clarity and coherence. In this way, it is possible to separate values from attitudes, and with the Personal Values construct, to have a theoretically derived moderator of volunteer motives. Thus, depending on an individual's personal values - which are influenced by socialisation and personal experience - volunteer motivation (VM) is affected. All of the underlying dimensions of volunteer motivation are self-centred motivations and in this way, it can be explained how individuals can hold altruistic values but still choose to volunteer for self-centred reasons. The role of volunteer motives for the willingness to volunteer is discussed in the following chapter.

What remains is to cross-validate our model with different samples. Unfortunately, the volunteer sample from the field experiment is too small for this purpose. Secondly, it would be valuable to compare other personal value indices (e.g. Bardi and Schwartz 2003) with the value constructs from my model in order to separate values from attitudes and behaviour. Moreover, a more elaborate measure of socialisation, for example from role identity theories (e.g.Pilliavin and Callero 1991) is clearly needed in order to validate the full Values model.

Appendix Chapter 3:

Table A3.1: Descriptive Statistics of Variables (N=801)

Variable	Med	Min	Max	SD	Skew	Kurtosis
protect_worry	3	1	6	1.357	0.240	2.114
protect_lonely	3	1	6	1.411	0.009	2.037
protect_guilt	3	1	6	1.469	0.017	1.970
protect_problems	3	1	6	1.319	0.162	2.115
protect_escape	3	1	6	1.427	0.214	2.048
values_concern	4	1	6	1.179	-0.629	3.254
values_groups	5	1	6	1.147	-0.710	3.289
values_empathy	4	1	6	1.392	-0.351	2.403
values_help	5	1	6	0.978	-0.936	3.766
values_issue	5	1	6	0.945	-1.219	4.407
career_dooropener	4	1	6	1.441	-0.391	2.319
career_contacts	4	1	6	1.300	-0.648	2.933
career_options	4	1	6	1.356	-0.486	2.533
career_presentjob	3	1	6	1.506	0.179	2.019
career_cv	4	1	6	1.372	-0.588	2.762
social_friends	3	1	6	1.417	0.193	2.150
social_close	2	1	6	1.288	0.851	2.893
social_aquaintance	4	1	6	1.528	-0.097	2.043
social_value_close	3	1	6	1.439	0.145	2.076
social_important_close	3	1	6	1.355	0.234	2.186
understand_cause	5	1	6	1.082	-0.896	4.006
understand_perspective	5	1	6	1.123	-0.878	3.999
understand_experience	5	1	6	1.058	-0.932	4.196
understand_dealpeople	5	1	6	1.230	-0.843	3.360
understand_strengths	4	1	6	1.228	-0.652	3.119
enhance_self-importance	3	1	6	1.354	-0.069	2.167
enhance_self-value	4	1	6	1.300	-0.524	2.785
enhance_needed	5	1	6	1.315	-0.744	3.045
enhance_betterself	4	1	6	1.182	-0.655	3.177
enhance_socialize	4	1	6	1.177	-0.758	3.578
o_protect	1	1	6	1.279	2.281	6.660
o_values	6	1	6	1.997	-1.195	2.635
o_career	1	1	6	1.499	1.770	4.493
o_social	1	1	6	1.541	1.796	4.491
o_understanding	1	1	6	2.012	0.680	1.655
o_enhancementment	4	1	6	2.003	-0.112	1.310
Sex	2	1	2	0.481	-0.574	1.330
Age	1	1	5	0.622	1.805	7.499
Education	9	1	14	2.633	0.050	2.477
Income	2	0	10	2.516	1.164	3.332
Geneva Dummy	0	0	1	0.500	0.007	1.000
volex (Volunteer Experience)	1	0	1	0.453	-0.768	1.589

Table A3.2: Item Description of VFI Indicators

Question Wording: *How important/accurate would each of the 30 possible reasons for volunteering be to you in terms of doing volunteer work for a charitable organisation ?*

Response scale: From 1 (not at all important/accurate) to 6 (extremely important/accurate)

Variable Name	Item Description
Protection	
protect_worry	No matter how bad one feels, volunteering helps to forget about it.
protect_lonely	By volunteering one feels less lonely.
protect_guilt	Doing volunteer work provides relief from some guilt over being more fortunate than others.
protect_problems	Volunteering helps one to work through one's own personal problems.
protect_escape	Volunteering is a good escape from one's own troubles.
Values	
values_concern	I am concerned about those less fortunate than myself.
values_groups	I am genuinely concerned about particular groups and want to help them.
values_empathy	I feel compassion toward people in need.
values_help	I feel it is important to help others.
values_issue	I can do something for a cause that is important to me.
Career	
career_dooropener	Volunteering can help me to get my foot in the door at a place where I would like to work.
career_contacts	I can make new contacts that might help my business or career.
career_options	Volunteering allows me to explore different career options.
career_presentjob	Volunteering helps me to succeed in my chosen profession.
career_cv	Volunteering experience will look good on my CV
Social	
social_friends	My friends volunteer.
social_close	People I'm close to want me to volunteer.
social_aquaintance	People I know share an interest in community service.
social_value_close	Others with whom I am close place a high value on community service.
social_important_close	Volunteering is an important activity to the people I know best.
Understanding	
understand_cause	I can learn more about a cause for which I am working.

understand_perspective	Volunteering allows one to gain a new perspective on things.
understand_experience	Volunteering lets one learn things through direct, hands on experience.
understand_dealpeople	I can learn how to deal with a variety of people.
understand_strengths	I can explore my own strengths.
Enhancement	
enhance_self-importance	Volunteering makes one feel more important.
enhance_self-value	Volunteering increases self-esteem.
enhance_needed	Volunteering makes one feel needed.
enhance_betterself	Volunteering makes one feel better about oneself.
enhance_social	Volunteering is a way to make new friends.

Table A3.3: Factor Loadings Random Sample 1 (N=401)

Regression Weights	First-Order		Second-Order		Values Model	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
values_issue<--values	0.612	0.087	0.6	0.094	0.582	0.086
values_empathy<--values	0.689	0.078	0.704	0.083	0.678	0.083
values_groups<--values	1.075	0.094	1.106	0.099	1.067	0.088
values_conern<--values	1.087	0.09	1.102	0.097	1.058	0.085
social_value_close <--social	0.925	0.063	0.933	0.068	0.932	0.069
social_close<--social	0.792	0.071	0.803	0.075	0.802	0.073
social_friends<--social	0.912	0.07	0.927	0.068	0.921	0.071
social_aquaintance<--social	0.922	0.068	0.931	0.071	0.93	0.071
protect_worry<--protection	0.931	0.067	0.942	0.063	0.936	0.062
protect_guilt<--protection	0.456	0.063	0.455	0.064	0.449	0.063
protect_problems<--protection	0.793	0.065	0.807	0.066	0.81	0.066
protect_lonely<--protection	0.731	0.066	0.728	0.069	0.731	0.068
understand_dealpeople<--understanding	0.931	0.127	1.257	0.19	1.248	0.182
understand_cause<--understanding	0.858	0.111	0.954	0.146	0.941	0.139
understand_strength<--understanding	0.857	0.116	1.138	0.171	1.133	0.170
understand_perspective<--understanding	0.957	0.122	1.096	0.161	1.083	0.154
career_dooropener<--career	0.933	0.067	0.952	0.073	0.949	0.073
career_presentjob<--career	0.576	0.072	0.586	0.073	0.583	0.069
career_cv<--career	0.727	0.068	0.741	0.071	0.737	0.072
career_options<--career	0.754	0.066	0.742	0.068	0.738	0.066
enhance_self_importance<--Enhancementment	1.073	0.102	1.086	0.114	1.159	0.12
enhance_self_value--Enhancementment	1.023	0.101	1.039	0.105	1.103	0.112
enhance_social<--Enhancementment	0.706	0.096	0.735	0.099	0.779	0.110
enhance_needed<--Enhancement	0.928	0.097	0.93	0.102	0.992	0.109
Values<--VM			0.31	0.052		
Social<--VM			0.337	0.056		
Enhancement<--VM			0.645	0.061		
Protection<--VM			0.585	0.057	0.983	0.146
Understanding<--VM			0.292	0.047	0.496	0.103
Career<--VM			0.255	0.056	0.433	0.105
Social<--PV					0.876	0.186

Bayesian estimation.

Table A3.4: Factor Loadings Random Sample 2 (N=400)

Regression Weights	First-Order		Second-Order		Values Model	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
values_issue<--values	0.487	0.082	0.472	0.077	0.482	0.080
values_empathy<--values	0.688	0.08	1.057	0.120	0.668	0.077
values_groups<--values	0.941	0.086	1.255	0.106	0.913	0.079
values_conern<--values	1.077	0.094	1.439	0.114	1.037	0.083
social_value_close <--social	0.947	0.072	1.021	0.070	0.95	0.077
social_close<--social	0.798	0.077	0.713	0.064	0.801	0.079
social_friends<--social	0.934	0.076	0.972	0.072	0.942	0.074
social_aquaintance<--social	0.929	0.074	1.045	0.078	0.937	0.071
protect_worry<--protection	0.931	0.069	0.904	0.059	0.94	0.069
protect_guilt<--protection	0.674	0.073	0.689	0.072	0.674	0.073
protect_problems<--protection	0.796	0.071	0.74	0.063	0.816	0.075
protect_lonely<--protection	0.823	0.074	0.84	0.071	0.828	0.074
understand_dealpeople<--understanding	0.733	0.082	0.928	0.098	0.777	0.090
understand_cause<--understanding	0.743	0.083	0.781	0.087	0.728	0.085
understand_strength<--understanding	0.877	0.081	1.117	0.098	0.957	0.090
understand_perspective<--understanding	0.840	0.082	0.933	0.088	0.832	0.084
career_dooropener<--career	1.04	0.091	1.193	0.093	1.053	0.093
career_presentjob<--career	0.708	0.094	0.796	0.098	0.668	0.09
career_cv<--career	0.810	0.087	0.863	0.091	0.808	0.088
career_options<--career	0.910	0.091	0.932	0.091	0.868	0.09
enhance_self_importance<--Enhancement	0.983	0.085	1.076	0.085	1.033	0.086
enhance_self_value--Enhancement	0.957	0.080	1.079	0.086	1.018	0.089
enhance_social<--Enhancement	0.724	0.082	0.708	0.077	0.766	0.085
enhance_needed<--Enhancement	0.943	0.080	1.044	0.083	0.989	0.087
Values<--VM			0.345	0.062		
Understanding<--VM			0.642	0.084	0.764	0.104
Social<--VM			0.545	0.093		
Protection<--VM			1.086	0.109	1.003	0.105
Career<--VM			0.558	0.093	0.565	0.092
Social<--PV					0.757	0.157

Bayesian estimation.

Table A3.5: Factor Loadings Values Model Sample 1 and Sample 2 (N=401)

Regression Weights	Values Model			
	sample 1		sample 2	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
values_issue<--values	0.582	0.086	0.482	0.08
values_empathy<--values	0.678	0.083	0.668	0.077
values_groups<--values	1.067	0.088	0.913	0.079
values_conern<--values	1.058	0.085	1.037	0.083
social_value_close <--social	0.932	0.069	0.95	0.077
social_close<--social	0.802	0.073	0.937	0.071
social_friends<--social	0.921	0.071	0.801	0.079
social_aquaintance<--social	0.93	0.071	0.942	0.074
protect_worry<--protection	0.936	0.062	0.766	0.085
protect_guilt<--protection	0.449	0.063	0.989	0.087
protect_problems<--protection	0.81	0.066	1.018	0.089
protect_lonely<--protection	0.731	0.068	1.033	0.086
understand_dealpeople<--understanding	1.248	0.182	0.816	0.075
understand_cause<--understanding	0.941	0.139	0.674	0.073
understand_strength<--understanding	1.133	0.17	0.828	0.074
understand_perspective<--understanding	1.083	0.154	0.94	0.069
career_dooropener<--career	0.949	0.073	0.957	0.09
career_presentjob<--career	0.583	0.069	0.777	0.09
career_cv<--career	0.737	0.072	0.832	0.084
career_options<--career	0.738	0.066	0.728	0.085
enhance_self_importance<--Enhancement	1.159	0.12	0.808	0.088
enhance_self_value--Enhancement	1.103	0.112	0.668	0.09
enhance_social<--Enhancement	0.779	0.11	1.053	0.093
enhance_needed<--Enhancement	0.992	0.109	0.868	0.09
Social<--PV	0.876	0.186	0.757	0.157
Protection<--VM	0.983	0.146	1.003	0.105
Career<--VM	0.433	0.105	0.565	0.092
Understanding<--VM	0.496	0.103	0.764	0.104

Bayesian estimation.

Table A3.6: Factor Loadings all Models Full Sample (N=801)

Regression Weights	First-Order Model		Second-Order Model		Values Model	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
values_issue<--values	0.551	0.061	0.543	0.062	0.527	0.059
values_empathy<--values	0.690	0.057	0.694	0.061	0.665	0.055
values_groups<--values	1.015	0.061	1.031	0.066	0.984	0.062
values_concern<--values	1.084	0.064	1.095	0.067	1.045	0.061
social_value_close <--social	0.940	0.051	0.940	0.048	0.939	0.049
social_close<--social	0.799	0.054	0.797	0.055	0.800	0.054
social_friends<--social	0.925	0.052	0.930	0.049	0.933	0.052
social_aquaintance<--social	0.925	0.052	0.926	0.051	0.927	0.050
protect_worry<--protection	0.937	0.047	0.944	0.047	0.941	0.049
protect_guilt<--protection	0.556	0.047	0.548	0.050	0.548	0.049
protect_problems<--protection	0.793	0.049	0.805	0.049	0.804	0.050
protect_lonely<--protection	0.773	0.053	0.773	0.052	0.773	0.049
understand_dealpeople<--understanding	0.824	0.074	0.935	0.081	0.932	0.083
understand_cause<--understanding	0.805	0.067	0.810	0.077	0.811	0.075
understand_strength<--understanding	0.872	0.070	1.004	0.079	1.002	0.079
understand_perspective<--understanding	0.896	0.072	0.916	0.076	0.913	0.079
career_dooropener<--career	0.991	0.055	1.004	0.057	0.996	0.058
career_presentjob<--career	0.629	0.057	0.614	0.057	0.607	0.056
career_cv<--career	0.767	0.053	0.772	0.054	0.771	0.055
career_options<--career	0.819	0.056	0.792	0.055	0.787	0.054
enhance_self_importance<--Enhancement	1.023	0.065	1.022	0.064	1.074	0.071
enhance_self_value--Enhancement	0.980	0.062	0.994	0.061	1.041	0.068
enhance_social<--Enhancement	0.712	0.060	0.731	0.063	0.759	0.064
enhance_needed<--Enhancement	0.939	0.063	0.939	0.062	0.980	0.066
Values<--VM			0.323	0.038		
Understanding<--VM			0.400	0.037	0.641	0.069
Social<--VM			0.334	0.039		
Protection<--VM			0.621	0.040	0.985	0.086
Enhancement<--VM			0.675	0.039		
Career<--VM			0.320	0.039	0.509	0.071
Social<--PV					0.789	0.116

Bayesian estimation.

Table A3.7: Model Fit - ML Estimation (N=801)

Model/Fit	First-Order	Second-Order	Values_all
RMSEA	.063	.066	.067
CMIN/df	2.585	2.763	2.791

Table A3.1: Correlations Whole Sample (N=801)

	volex	age	sex	education	income	ge_dummy	PV	VM	Career	Undertanding	Protection	Enhancement	Social	Values
	1.000													
Age	0.046	1.000												
Sex	-0.057	-0.052	1.000											
Education	0.0793*	0.045	-0.027	1.000										
Income	0.031	-0.011	-0.071	0.065	1.000									
Geneva														
Dummy	-0.013	0.188*	0.163*	0.147*	0.048	1.000								
P V	0.1337*	0.026	0.119*	-0.011	-0.060	0.168*	1.000							
VM	0.0953*	0.015	0.115	-0.005	-0.061	0.161*	0.923*	1.000						
Career	0.031	0.028	0.077	-0.001	-0.079	0.065	0.386*	0.458*	1.000					
Understanding	0.1177*	0.021	0.156*	-0.075	-0.094	-0.028	0.668*	0.714*	0.476*	1.000				
Protection	0.020	-0.026	0.056	0.007	-0.025	0.148*	0.719*	0.807*	0.267*	0.457*	1.000			
Enhancement	0.0973*	0.011	0.102	0.005	-0.056	0.192*	0.876*	0.963*	0.397*	0.640*	0.734*	1.000		
Social	0.1930*	0.045	-0.073	-0.016	0.005	0.074	0.550*	0.426*	0.227*	0.275*	0.330*	0.377*	1.000	
Values	0.0832*	0.001	0.179*	-0.051	-0.048	0.163*	0.657*	0.497*	0.071	0.376*	0.332*	0.444*	0.207*	1.000

* = Significance Level (0.001)

Chapter 4

The Role of Persuasive Messages for Volunteer Recruitment*

* With Simon Hug. A version of this chapter was presented at the Midwest Political Science Association Annual Meeting, Chicago April 2-5, 2009.

4.1 Introduction

As Western welfare systems have increasingly been coming under pressure from demographic and socio-economic changes, individual responsibility and, with it, the role of volunteering in providing welfare services have gained renewed interest among scholars and policy makers alike. In "Bowling Alone" Putnam (2000) describes a general decline in civic participation in the US, with the exception of volunteering, where a continuous upward trend is to be found. Other studies (Salamon and Sokolowski 2001) confirm this upward trend cross-nationally (Inglehart 2000). Putnam (2000) finds the reason for this phenomenon to lie in the above-average participation of the post-war generation. Furthermore, there are indications that the recruitment of volunteers may require more effort than was the case in earlier years as volunteers' needs may have changed over time (Bachmann and Bieri 2000). Regarded in a broader framework of civic participation, this raises the question of individual motivation, and how participation can be influenced by meeting motivational needs. In this study, the focus is on the functions that prosocial action serves for individuals and how these functions can be satisfied by matching particular motives with affective stimuli.

Targeted incentives[52] and persuasive messages can trigger cognitive processes that represent affective stimuli which, in turn, can satisfy motivational needs in individuals. An interaction effect between persuasive messages and value centrality has been shown in experiments (Verplanken and Holland 2002). Moreover, recent studies have placed considerable emphasis on the interaction between the motivation of potential volunteers and incentives or persuasive messages offered to them (e.g. Clary et al. 1998). More precisely, potential volunteers may wish to offer their services based on very different motivations, and if the incentives offered by organisations fail to match these motivations, they may even be counterproductive (e.g. Frey and Goette 1999, Benabou and Tirole 2003). A firm understanding of this interaction between motivations and

[52] The effect of selected incentives on volunteer time and satisfaction is discussed in chapter 5.

incentives is still lacking, however, because most studies are either hampered by their methodological choices (e.g. surveys) or restricted through their focus on a limited set of motivations and incentives.

This study attempts to answer the question of how motives for prosocial action interact with persuasive messages by conducting an online experiment with university students. We test whether matching the predominant motive for volunteering with a persuasive message that responds to that motive produces an increased willingness to volunteer. Furthermore, the most commonly used functional classification of volunteer motives, the Volunteer Functions Inventory (VFI) (Clary et al. 1994), was put to the test. This approach enables us to test the interaction of volunteer motivations and persuasive messages in an experimental set-up. It allows conclusions to be drawn about the effect of targeted advertising for volunteers, which is relevant for the recruitment of individuals for different forms of civic participation.

In the next section, we discuss how motivations and persuasive messages have been studied in research on volunteer work. Based on this discussion the main hypothesis test regarding the interaction between motivations and persuasive message and their joint effect on the disposition to do volunteer work is presented in section 4.4. A presentation of the experimental design of this study follows. Section 4.5 describes the results clearly suggesting that matching persuasive messages with predispositions in terms of motivations generates the largest effect on volunteering. Section 6 concludes and charts the future steps of this study.

4.2 Persuasive Messages and Motivation

Volunteer work is "... a way of dramatizing that one is a good and decent person" (Wuthnow 1994). The question therefore arises of whether there are motivational properties inherent in or attributable to specific tasks. Various studies indicate that volunteers choose tasks with attributed qualities that

match their motives (Houle et al. 2005), and that volunteer satisfaction is higher if task and motives match (Millette and Gagné 2008). It is not only through self-selection that individuals choose certain tasks; framing or priming tasks can also influence selection. A study by Clary et al. (1994), which tested various implications of the functional approach to volunteering, found persuasive messages to be more effective when matched with an individual's relevant function. Thus framing or priming messages is thought to significantly influence volunteer recruiting success.

Older theories in persuasion research in the field of social psychology are based on the systematic processing paradigm, and the two most influential ones are the information processing model (McGuire 1985) and the cognitive response model (Petty et al. 1981). The latter differs from the former insofar as it is not the reception of arguments that leads to attitude change but the cognitive reaction (thoughts) that are triggered by the arguments. Later, a dual process model of persuasion – which sees a systematic as well as an unsystematic mode of information processing – gained more influence. Some of the most influential theories nowadays are the elaboration likelihood model (ELM) (Petty and Cacioppo 1986) and, related to this, the heuristic systematic model (Eagly and Chaiken 1993). Both entail the processing of a message by motivated individuals and posit that strength determines persuasion If individuals are not sufficiently motivated (or able) to process the message carefully, other processes such as cues or heuristics will determine the success of persuasion. Persuasion achieved by this means does not lead to a durable attitude change, however (Olson and Zanna 1993). An individual's motivation, on the other hand, is influenced, among other things, by a match between attitude function and message content (Petty and Cacioppo 1986). Thus, the influence of persuasion on behaviour depends on the interaction of the type and strength of individual motivation and type and strength of message, or to put it differently, an interplay between the self and the message.

The interaction effects of message frame and reference point in the context of prosocial behaviour were tested in a series of experiments (Loroz 2007). The motivation for the experiments was a hypothesized resource match in processing frame and reference point of the message. According to theory, this would mean that negatively framed massages would be most effective with a self-reference point (see also McMath and Prentice-Dunn 2005). Equally, positively framed messages should be most persuasive with a self/other reference point (cf. applications of prospect theory, e.g. Kahnemann and Tversky 1984). The results mostly supported the hypothesized relationship, particularly for the self-reference point for prosocial attitudes. The results for a self/other reference point were less clear, particularly for intended prosocial behaviour. This could indicate that for actual prosocial behaviour, altruistic motives are an important factor but that there are other possible motives for such behaviour that are more self-focused.

Verplanken and Holland (2002: 443) explain the link between values and behaviour by using the interaction of the centrality of values to one's self-concept and priming as a determinant of behaviour. In a series of experiments – one of which concerned prosocial behaviour and altruistic values – they found that there are two important conditions that have to be fulfilled for values to influence behaviour: value centrality and activation. Value centrality means that values must be perceived as central to one's personality and activation is achieved by a congruence of perceived central values and perceived nature of a behaviour. Activation, as well as self-perception, could be influenced by priming a task or by priming focus from others to the self. Thus, the interaction of high self-focus and a congruence of value centrality and task (e.g. money donation and altruistic values) lead to more frequent activation of behaviour. Similarly, attitudes, which are influenced by values, are linked to behaviour.

The traditional definition of attitude involves three aspects: affect (feeling and emotion), cognition (process and knowing) and behaviour. More recent definitions of attitude are uni-dimensional, however, and have at their centre

evaluative responses based on beliefs, feelings and/or past behaviour. Other authors define attitudes as "representations in memory" (Tesser and Shaffer 1990: 119). For the rational actor model it is assumed that intention is the best predictor of behaviour. Intentions, on the other hand are influenced by attitudes and can vary depending on context or behavioural disposition (such as self-monitoring). Non-rational actor models take into account unconscious activation of attitudes and framing in guiding behaviour, with prospect theory (Kahnemann and Tversky 1984) being one example of this. Functional theories of attitude examine the purpose of holding different attitudes, as discussed above. Attitude functions are measured either directly by subjects' self-declaration or indirectly via personality traits.

As was discussed above, functional attitude theory assumes that action is subject to individual attitudes, which are, in turn, formed to meet individual needs. These needs behind attitudes are termed an attitude function and recent functional perspectives have identified five such functions: knowledge, ego-defensive, value-expressive, social adjustment and utilitarian. These correspond by and large to Clary et al.'s (1998) attitude functions in relation to volunteering, except that in their typology of six volunteer functions, Enhancement and Career would both fall into the utilitarian function category.[53] Of these motives, the Values motive was found to be most prevalent in volunteers, followed by the Enhancement and Understanding motives (Clary et al. 1998, Omoto and Snyder 1995). Over time, time spent volunteering, the initially dominant altruistic motivation, moved to second place after Enhancement or Understanding Motives (Omoto and Snyder 1995; Finkelstein 2008; Haski-Leventhal 2009). Thus, with further social interaction in a volunteer context, the motivation structure can change in volunteers. We can test this by comparing the group with previous volunteer experience with the group without previous volunteer experience.

[53] Some older studies put the number of identifiable attitude functions at four (see, for example, Anderson and Kristiansen 1990; Herek 1987), leaving out the utilitarian attitude function.

The matching of message and need, on the other hand, was found to influence selection positively, i.e. by framing messages to appeal to specific volunteer motivation, the message is more persuasive in appealing to potential volunteers (Clary et al 1994; Julka and Marsh 2000). The results of these studies suggests that prior priming – i.e. creating needs through experimental manipulation – does have an effect on the effect of persuasive messages. Moreover, attitude functions may vary according to personality types (Shavitt and Nelson 2002).

As we have seen, matching theory states that persuasive messages that match an individual's attitude function are more effective. Our aim is to assess the matching hypothesis in an online experiment that tests the interaction of motives and affective stimuli, i.e. persuasive messages, but tries to avoid the aforementioned methodological problems of temporal incongruence and self-selection. The insights gained will not only close an important gap in the literature but will also be of practical value to third-sector organisations in order to recruit volunteers.

4.3 Study Overview

The main objective of the paper at hand is to gain a firmer understanding of the interaction of motives and persuasive messages in the decision to volunteer. Drawing on the literature discussed above, we wish to test the matching hypothesis, i.e. the assumed benefit of matching message with motive on the readiness to engage in prosocial action (Clary et al. 1994).

The main hypothesis focuses on the recruitment phase of volunteering. As discussed, it can be assumed that pro-social action, such as volunteering, is determined by a number of identifiable motives (Clary et al. 1998, Omoto and Snyder 1995). They are Protection, Values, Career, Social, Understanding and Enhancement. In order to understand what role these motives play in the recruitment process, the following hypothesis will be tested:

Recruitment efforts emphasizing one of the identified motives for volunteering will encourage most strongly individuals to volunteer for whom this motive is of importance.

While this hypothesis might strike some readers as being almost tautological, this would only be the case if we had precise knowledge about the type of messages that would speak to specific motivations. While previous research (see above) has yielded some insights into this question upon which we will draw, a renewed test of the effects of particular messages in a different setting is of great value.

In chapter 3, the methodological problems linked to survey studies in motivation research were outlined. The main points of criticism concern the retrospectiveness of answers, the difficulties of measuring changes in motives, the lack of control over affective stimuli and self-selection. These problems can be remedied to some extent by an experimental study design.

In order to test the interaction of motives and persuasive messages, the design must involve two steps: First, a motive questionnaire; then the exposure to a persuasive message. As we are interested not only in establishing a taxonomy of motives for volunteering, but also in evaluating the distinction between altruistic and egotistic motives, the investigation will be confined to volunteering in specific areas that provide a public good, i.e. social welfare. In order to assure external validity and to prevent a possible questionnaire effect in this study design, a field experiment was also conducted. The results thereof will be reported in chapter 5. Moreover, in order to assure the reliability of the chosen approach, the assumed second-order motive structure described in chapter 3 is tested in terms of the matching hypothesis alongside the standard first-order six functions model.

4.3.1 Participants

801 university students (36% male, 64% female) were recruited to take part in this experiment. Half of the students were in the German-speaking part of Switzerland, and the other half were in the French-speaking part. The invitation to take part was sent to 8000 randomly drawn e-mail addresses. A material incentive (book voucher) was offered for participation.

4.3.2 Procedure

The basic procedure of the online experiment can be described as follows: In a first step, participants are asked what their motivations would be to start volunteering - first in an open question, then in a closed format. Based on this information, groups of respondents sharing the same motivation are formed. Each of these "motivational categories" is divided into seven sub-groups for treatments (six advertisements primed for functional motives plus one neutral). In a follow-up questionnaire, participants are presented with the advertisement according to their sub-group and asked whether this appeals to them sufficiently in order to take up volunteering. Hence, following Campbell and Stanley's (1963) notation (R: random assignment; X: intervention (or treatment); O: observation), our online experiment can be summarized as follows:[54]

Questionnaire 1	Randomization	Motivational messages	Questionnaire 2
O11	R	X11	O21
O12	R	X12	O22
O13	R	X13	O23
O14	R	X14	O24
O15	R	X15	O25
O16	R	X16	O26
O17	R	X17	O27

[54] For both regions, a pre-test (15 participants) was conducted in order to test the motive questionnaire and persuasive message for the online experiment. No incentive was provided at this stage.

As a first step, an e-mail invitation to take part in a two-part online survey was sent out to 8000 randomly drawn student e-mail addresses. The invitation contained a link to the online survey. It made no mention of the project contents but cited the incentive to be received after the completion of both parts of the survey. Details of the procedure involved are described in chapter 3.

As the focus of this chapter is the matching of motive type and persuasive messages, a motive type had to be assigned to each respondent. First, six motive variables were constructed using the maximum values of the relevant five VFI items.[55] We then chose a sorting procedure which sorts observations starting with the motive variable with the lowest standard deviation.[56] Through this method, six groups of motives of slightly unequal size are produced.[57] The observations in each group were randomized and split into seven groups – six motive groups and one control group – in order to assign a treatment, i.e. the persuasive message. Participants were then sent e-mail links for their treatment group. Thus, the second part of the online experiment consists of administering a persuasive message (treatment) to each participant. The persuasive message consists of an advertisement for volunteer work. The text states that volunteers are sought for various tasks in nonprofit organisations in the social sector. There are seven versions of the advertisement. The advertisements differ only with respect to one sentence in which a personal statement regarding the benefits of volunteering for them from an active volunteer is framed in six different ways. The message is designed in order to appeal to one of the six

[55] Based on mean values, the distribution of the observations in the motive categories is rather skewed.

[56] In a first step, motive variable 1 (smallest sd) is sorted in descending order, and motive variables 2-6 are sorted in ascending order. While observation 1 for motive variables 2-6 are set as invalid, observation 1 for motive variable 1 will take the value 1 if the assignment variable has not been used before. This procedure is repeated for all observations and all groups until all observations have been assigned a motive. This procedure produces 6 groups of equal size. As a final step, a handful of observations which were mis-assigned because of the generally low values for these motive variables, have to be assigned manually. In this way, the largest motive groups are Values, Understanding, Career and Enhance, while the categories Protection and Social are slightly smaller.

[57] The same sorting procedure was repeated post-hoc with values from SEM (chapter 3) in order to compare the results from the six-factor model with those of the second order Values model.

motives. One advertisement does not contain a persuasive message (control group). After being exposed to the message, participants are then asked whether a) the message appealed to them, and b) whether they felt motivated to answer the advertisement. Again, the answer categories were on a six-point scale. After having completed both parts of the online experiment, participants received their reward (book voucher). In order to construct a post-hoc matching variable to test the reliability of the initial variable, the motivation values calculated by the second-order structural equation model are used.[58]The results are reported in the next section.

4.4 Results and Analysis

4.4.1 Motivations for Volunteer Work

The distribution of responses for the 30 VFI Motive Questions shows a clear ranking order of the various motivations for volunteer work. The highest median responses are for Values (mean 4.6) and Understanding (mean 4.5) items, followed by Enhancement (mean 4.0) and Career (3.8), and finally Protection (mean 3) and Social (mean 2.9). The findings of previous studies that the Values motive, followed by Enhancement and Understanding, are most prevalent in volunteers, can be confirmed – even in our student populations.

For the Protection motive (Figure 4.1), female students in Zurich score lower on the "helps one to cope with one's own problems" motive, whereas their counterparts in Geneva valued the motive "assuaging one's own guilt" more highly. Differences are thus based entirely on university, not gender.

[58] Two new matching variables are constructed. The first matching variable is constructed by using the same sorting procedure employed in the initial attribution of motives to individuals (described above). This procedure ensures equal group size. The second matching variable used maximum values in order to attribute motives to individuals. Conseqeuently, the group size varies slightly, with the Enhancement and Understanding groups amounting to only half the number of members of the other groups.

The distribution for the Values motives (Figure 4.2) shows stronger preferences for "helping particular groups" for female students in Geneva, but also weaker preferences for volunteering because of empathic feelings. Thus, looking at the detailed distribution no gender or university difference can be found.

Moreover, no clear difference in distribution regarding gender or university can be seen for the Career motives (Figure 4.3): The highest scores can be found for female students in Geneva and male students in Zurich, followed by female students in Zurich and lastly, male students in Geneva. Overall, Zurich may have slightly higher scores for the Career items, but this is not clearly attributable to either gender or location.

The distribution for the Social motive items (Figure 4.5) must be regarded in a similar vein. Although, overall, students from Zurich would be more likely to volunteer because their acquaintances already volunteer, female students are much less likely to volunteer because the people surrounding them value such an activity. When we control for present volunteering, it becomes clear that the higher scores in Zurich are entirely driven by those that presently volunteer.

For the Understanding motives (Figure 4.4), in both Geneva and Zurich, female students score considerably higher on several items than male ones. In this instance, a gender difference can be discerned. There is a difference in the types of motives, however, as students in Geneva value skills and practice motives higher, whereas students in Zurich are more concerned about gaining new perspectives and dealing with different people. However, the skills motive is partly driven by the fact whether a person is doing any volunteer work at present.

Figure 4.1: Protection Motivation by Gender and University

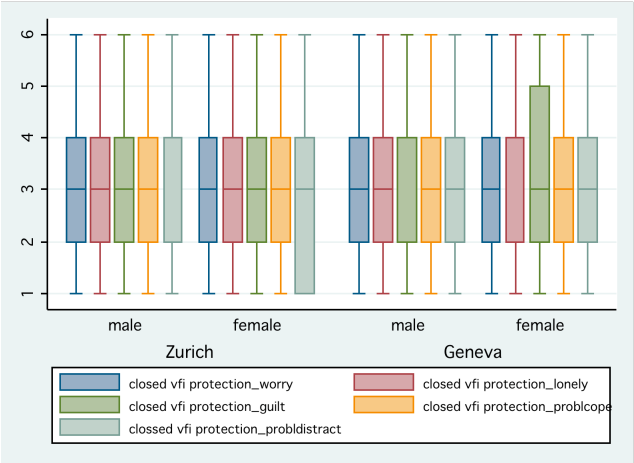


Figure 4.2: Values Motivation by Gender and University

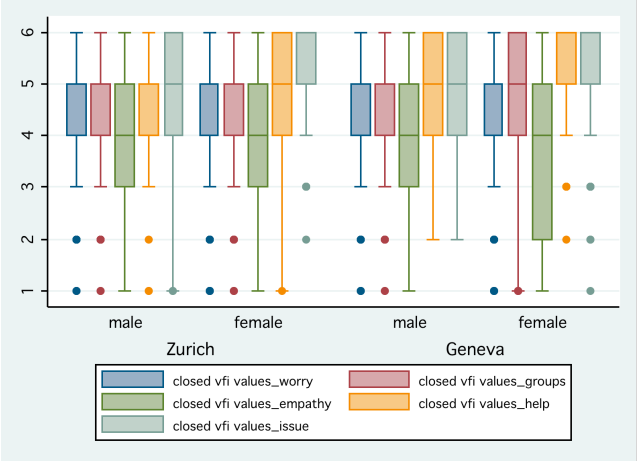


Figure 4.3: Career Motivation by Gender and University

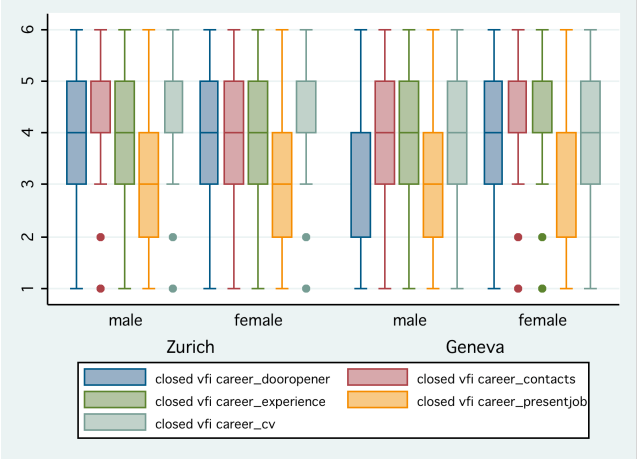


Figure 4.4: Understanding Motivation by Gender and University

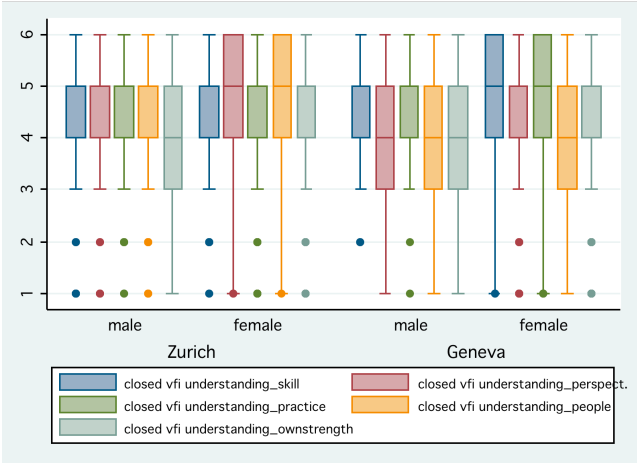


Figure 4.5: Social Motivation by Gender and University

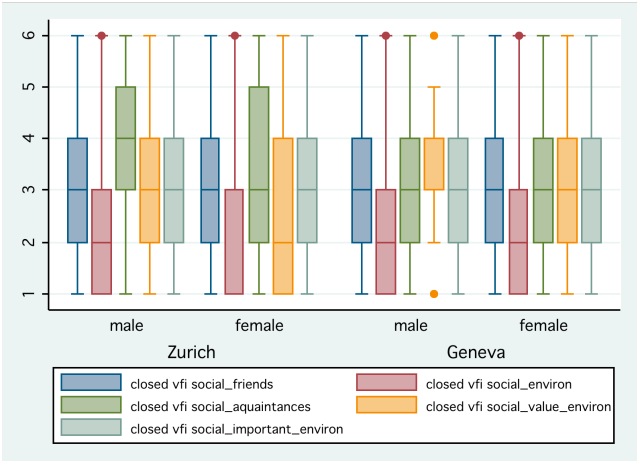
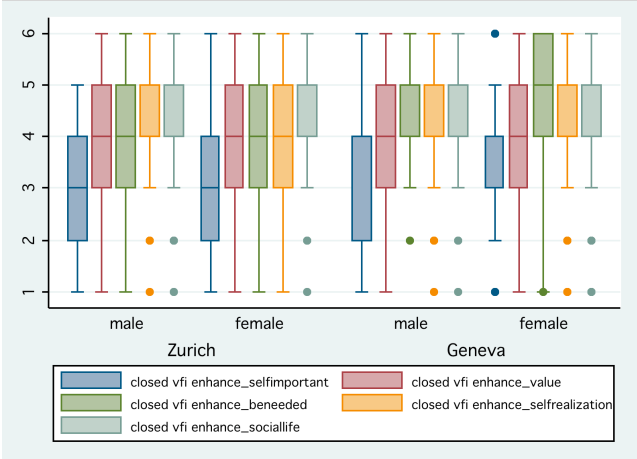


Figure 4.6: Enhancement Motivation by Gender and University



The last group of motives, the Enhancement motives (Figure 4.6), shows a difference in distribution between universities. Generally, Geneva students have higher scores for this group of motives, and in particular the "feeling needed" motive is valued highest by female students at the University of Geneva. However, this motive is also driven by present volunteering.

There are thus some differences in distribution according to university for the Protection and Enhancement motives, and differences based on gender for the Understanding motive. The differences across the two universities are minor and might in part be due to the larger proportion of female participants, particularly considering the high percentage of female students at the University of Geneva.[59] A similar picture presents itself when studying the distribution of maximal values (which is what we used for our selection variable) for the motive items, as is shown in Figure A4.1 (Appendix).

In Figure A4.5, we see that the first quartiles for Protection and Enhancement motives are slightly lower for Zurich. When broken up by gender (Figure A4.3 Appendix), it becomes clear that the results for Enhancement and Protection are indeed mainly driven by university, and not gender, as male and female students in Geneva tend to respond in higher categories for these two motive groups than their counterparts in Zurich. There are some gender differences to be found, however, for the Values and Career motives in Geneva. There, female students chose somewhat higher answer categories than their male colleagues.[60]

[59] In the academic year 2007-08 when our study was carried out 61 % of the student body at the University of Geneva was female (http://www.unige.ch/dadm/stat/chiffres0708/etudiants.html, accessed February 4, 2009). In Zurich the percentage of women in the student body is 56 % (http://www.co.uzh.ch/mis/stud/semester/hs08/studierende geschlechter hs08.pdf, accessed February 4, 2009). Breaking down the median responses by gender, however, suggests only minor differences (one higher median value for the male participants, five higher values for the female participants) between the sexes.

[60] An alternative interpretation could be that students from the German-speaking part of Switzerland tend to answer more cautiously than their French-speaking colleagues, i.e. chose lower answer categories. However, to the author's knowledge, no empirical studies have addressed this possibility. Moreover, there are some differences to be found due to present volunteering activity, but only those for the Social, Understanding and Values motives reach statistical significance. For Understanding and Values, non-volunteers are more likely to select

The motive variables calculated by the structural equation model described in Chapter 3 tell a slightly more differentiated story (Figures A4.2 and A4.4 in the appendix). Generally, slightly higher motivation values can be found in Geneva compared to Zurich (figure A4.2). This, again, is largely due to the higher percentage of female participants in Geneva, particularly for the Protection, Enhancement and Understanding motive. In this Values model, however, gender differences can be found for the Values and Social Variables. Independent of University, the Values motive is stronger in female participants, while the Social motive is stronger in male participants. If we look at volunteer motivation only (VM in the Personal Values model p. 55) this difference influences the level of Volunteer Motivation (VM). Female participants have higher Volunteer Motivation scores than their male counterparts (Figure A4.5 Appendix).

Having gained some insights into the motives for volunteering, in a next step, we will consider the matching hypothesis.

4.4.2 Persuasive Messages and their Effects

According to the main hypothesis, persuasive messages for volunteer work should have the largest effects if these messages correspond to an individual's main motivation to participate in third-sector work. Even though the treatment consists of six different persuasive messages and one neutral message for the control group, the main independent variable will be dichotomous and indicate whether or not the message received matched the individual's motivation.

To estimate the effect of this matching, we rely on the responses by the participants to two questions, one asking whether the message appeals to the respondent and the other inquiring whether she/he feels motivated to respond

higher values, while for Social motives, people with volunteer experience are more likely to select higher values. This only partly confirms our expectation regarding present volunteering: The Values motive plays a greater role for non-volunteers (analysis not reported here).

to the call for volunteer work. Participants could respond to these two questions with six values on a scale ranging from "not at all true" (1) to "completely true" (6). Given the ordinal character of our two main dependent variables, an ordered logit model is employed to assess the effect of our treatments.[61] All regression results can be found in the appendix.

The first test of the hypothesis concerns the question of whether matching persuasive messages to motivations increases the likelihood of volunteer work participation. First results suggest the expected positive effect for both dependent variables.[62] Figures 4.7 and 4.8 depict in the top panel the estimated distribution in the response variables in the absence of a match between persuasive message and motivation. In the middle panel, the density of the simulated probabilities for the same situation appears, while the last panel depicts the changes in the probability densities of responding with one of the six responses due to a matching. The two lower panels of figures 4.7 and 4.8 clearly show that the matching of message on motivation increases the likelihood of the message being perceived as appealing and, to a much lesser degree, and statistically not significant, also of the propensity to join a volunteer effort. Hence, we find evidence in support of our hypothesis, but the estimated effects, as figures 4.7 and 4.8 show, are rather small. When the newly constructed SEM matching variable is used, the results are very similar: The likelihood that a person chooses a lower answer category when treatment and motivation are matched diminishes, while the likelihood that a higher answer category is chosen increases. The result (first differences) is shown in figure A4.6 in the appendix.

[61] Tests of the "parallel slopes assumption" suggest that in some models this assumption is violated. Closer inspection shows that this is due to the fact that many respondents with past volunteering experience select high response categories. Since we control for past volunteering experience in later models, we refrain from estimating the effects using another empirical model.

[62] The tables containing the estimation results appear in the appendix. In the main text we present only graphical illustrations of the estimated treatment effects based on predicted probabilities. To do so we used Imai, King and Lau's (2008) plot.zelig of the *Zelig* package.

Figure 4.7: Overall Effect of Matching on Appeal of Message

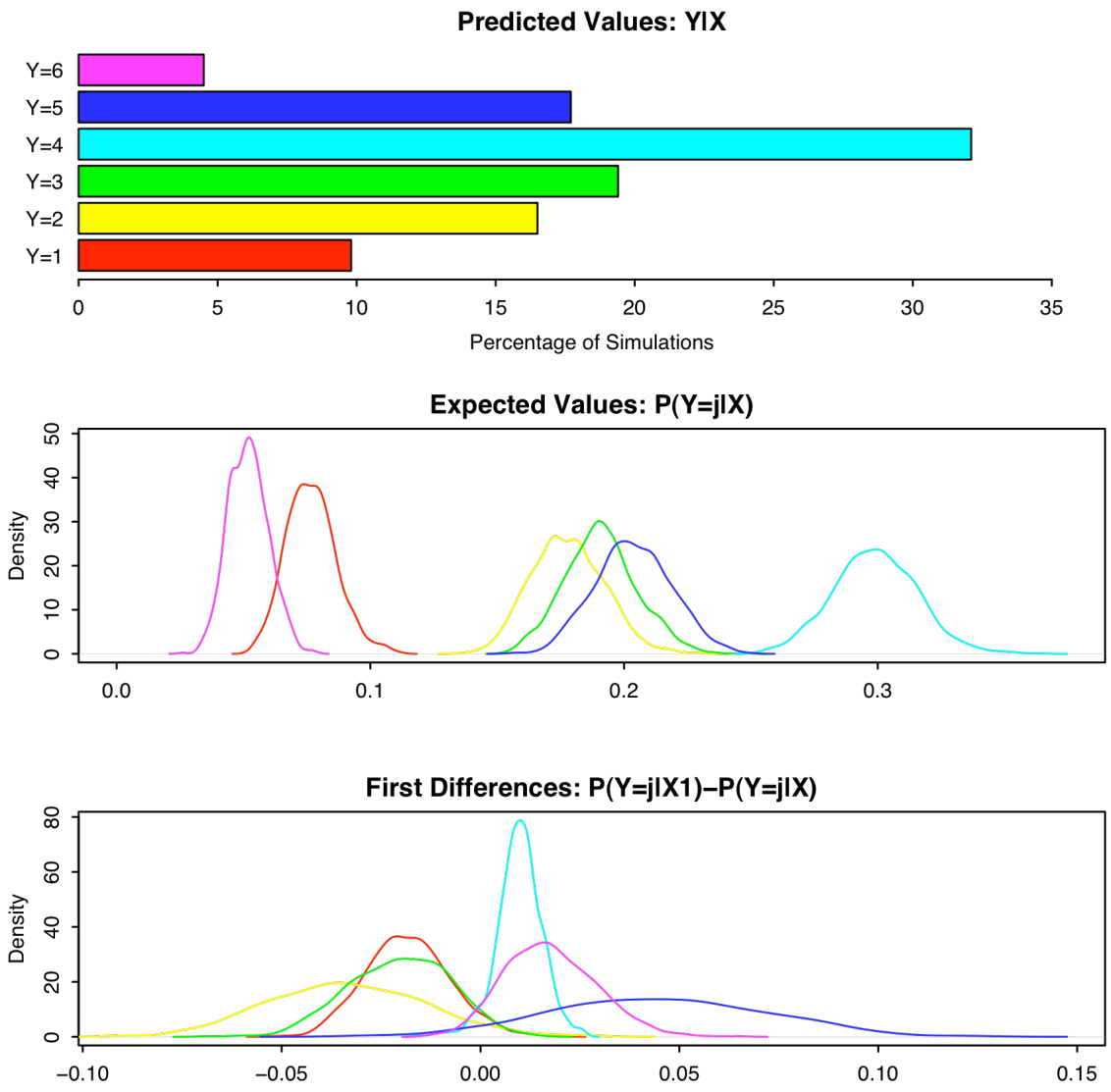
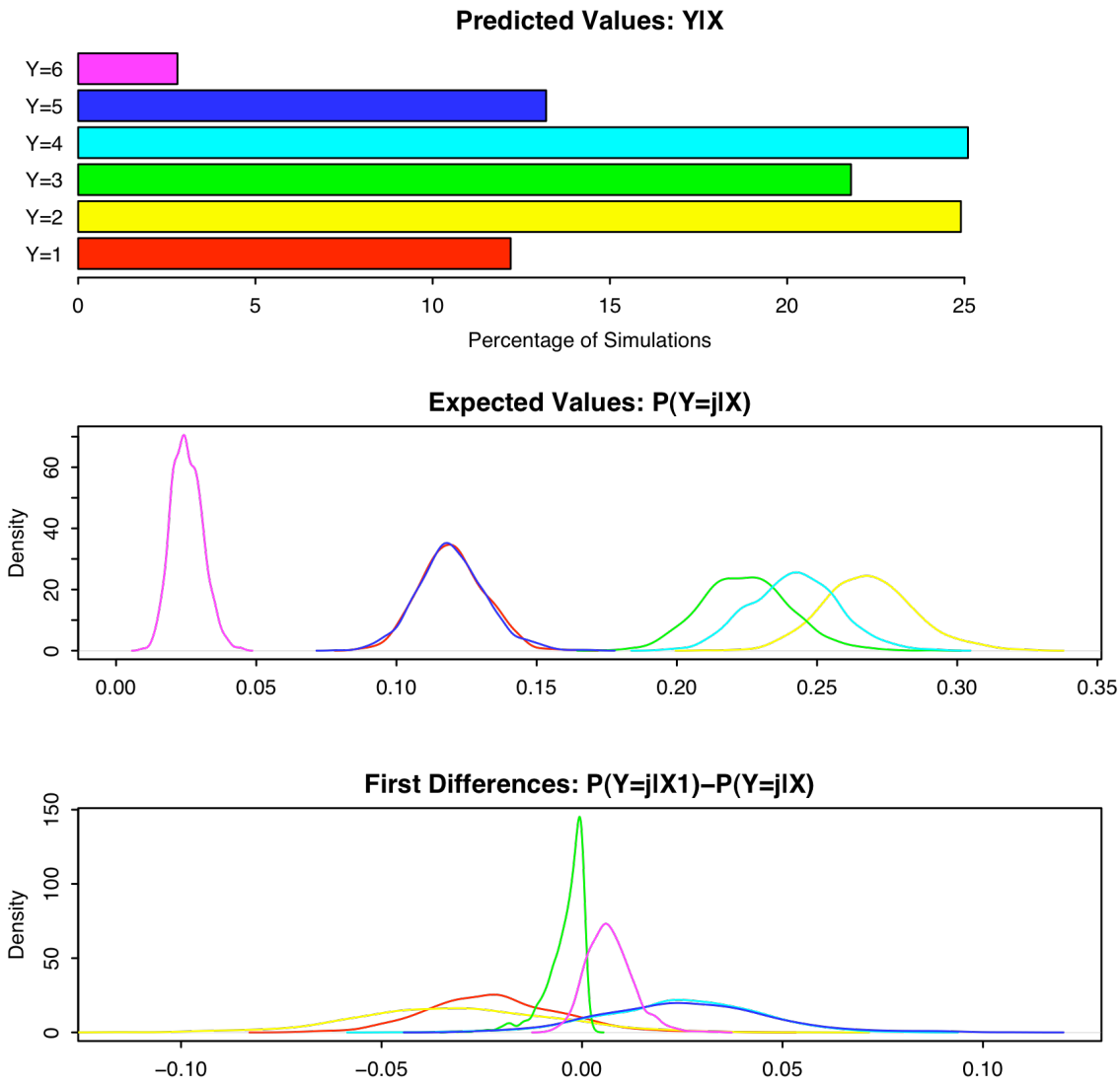


Figure 4.8: Overall Effect of Matching on Propensity to Join



The question now arises of whether the effect of matching depends on the precise treatment in terms of messages received. This possibility is tested for by first introducing as an additional independent variable the treatment in terms of the different persuasive messages. As the results indicate (see appendix, Tables A4.1 and A4.2) the effect of this variable is rather small and substantively irrelevant.[63] This effect is very similar when using the matching variables from the SEM Values Model (A4.1a Appendix).

[63] Estimating a model with only the treatment variable suggests that in terms of the Akaike information criterion (AIC) it is clearly less preferable than a model with only the matching variable.

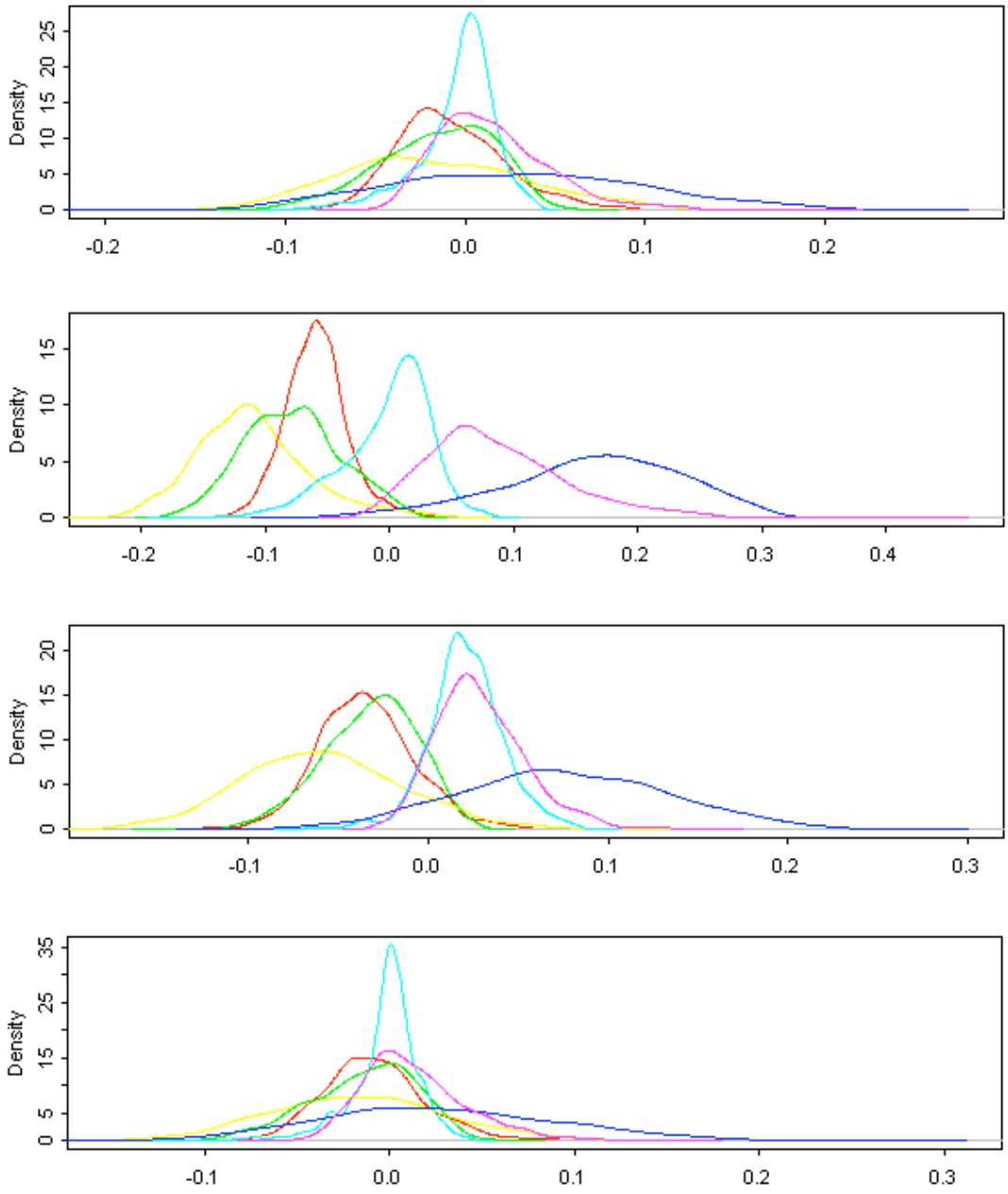
The effect of matching persuasive messages with motivations might depend, however, on the type of persuasive message. For this reason we re-estimated our ordered logit model allowing for different effects of the matching variable for each of the persuasive messages.[64] A comparison of the different models - the original models (table A4.1) and the Values models (table A.4.1a) - shows that the more complex model evens out conspicuous matching effects. Figures 4.9 and 4.10 depict the densities of the estimated effects on the probabilities of the different response categories for the "appeal of message" and the "propensity to join" variable, respectively. Each figure depicts these effects for all six persuasive messages. As both figures illustrate, the effects of matching depend on the type of persuasive message a respondent receives.

Figure 4.9 shows that the strongest effect for matching appears for the persuasive message dealing with the Protection motive (second panel). Individuals receiving this message and having predominantly this motivation are much more likely to respond by choosing the top two values (5 and 6) and much less likely to respond with the two lowest values (1 and 2). For the Social (panel 1), Enhancement (panel 3) and Understanding (panel 5) motives we find a similar, but much weaker, such effect. It is interesting to note that judging from the last panel in figure 4.9, matching the Career motive with the according persuasive message actually has a (statistically not significant) negative effect.

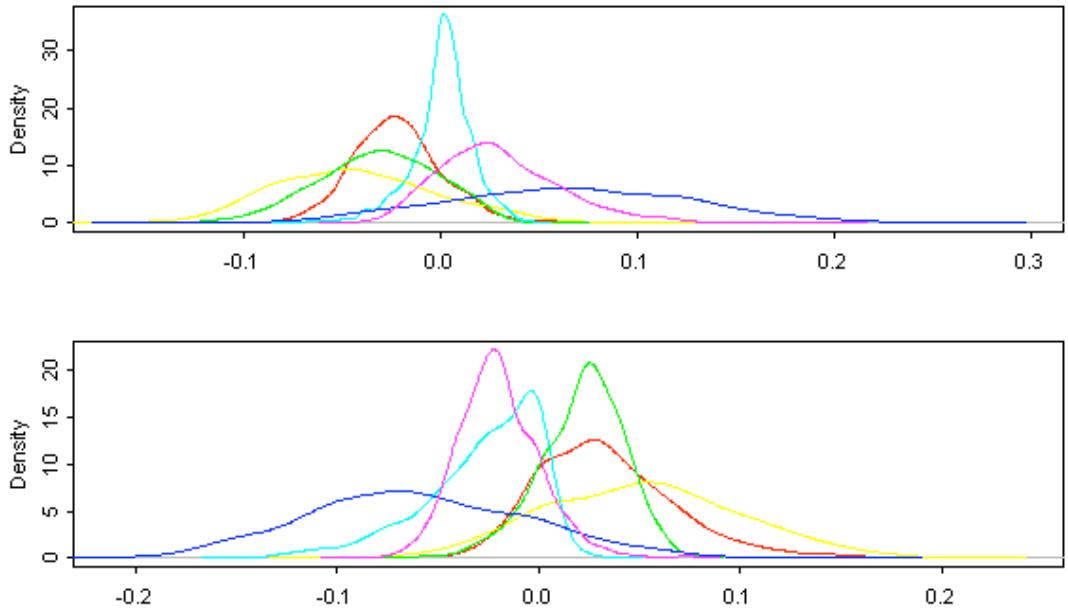
When using the SEM matching variable, all matching effects are in the expected direction - i.e. the likelihood of choosing a lower category (1 and 2) decreases, while the likelihood of choosing a higher answer category increases. The effects are constant but not very strong. In contrast to the original matching variable, there are no marked differences to be found between treatment groups in terms of effects. Moreover, all effects point in the right direction. The negative effect of the career treatment found in the original models is counterbalanced in the Values model (SEM).

[64] Again the estimates for both the original model and the SEM model appear in the appendix.

Figure 4.9: Effects of Matching as a Function of Persuasive Message on Appeal of Message[65]

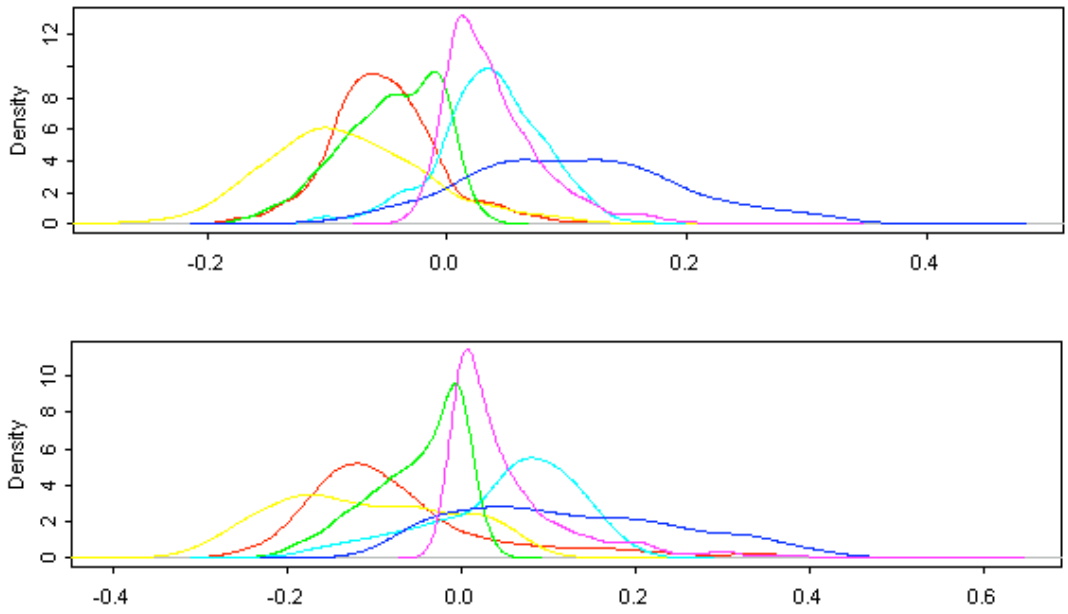


[65] Top panel: Social; second panel: Protection; third panel: Enhance; fourth panel: Values; fifth panel: Understanding; last panel: Career; red: category 1(not at all true); yellow: category 2; green: category 3; turquoise: category 4; blue: category 5; pink: category 6 (completely true).

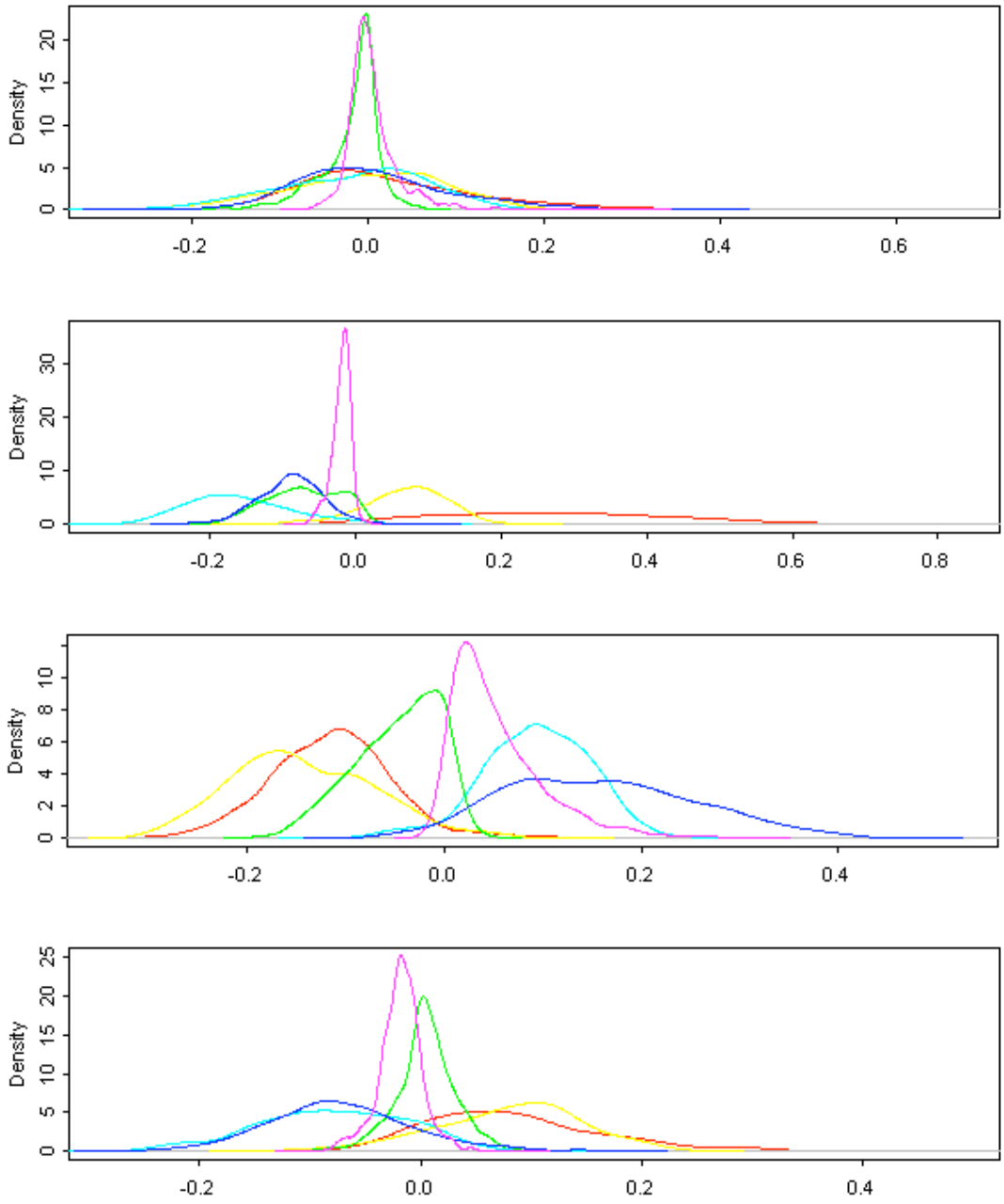


A quick glance at figure 10 shows that the patterns of effects are similar for the "propensity to join" variable, but much weaker and all statistically not significant. We also find an increase of the negative effect of matching with the "career motivation" (last panel in figure 4.10).

Figure 4.10: Effects of Matching as a Function of Persuasive Message on Propensity to Join[66]



[66] Top panel: Social; second panel: Protection; third panel: Enhance; fourth panel: Values; fifth panel: Understanding; last panel: Career; red: category 1(not at all true); yellow: category 2; green: category 3; turquoise: category 4; blue: category 5; pink: category 6 (completely true).



A final issue to address is whether the effects we have demonstrated so far are dependent on previous volunteering experience, and whether effects differ across university context, and thus linguistic region.[67] In order to assess this

[67] In what follows we will only consider the differential effects due to past volunteer work, since the results depicted in Table A4.2 (see appendix) suggest that present volunteer work has a much smaller and negligible effect.

possibility, the same models for these four possible combinations of context and past volunteering were estimated.[68]

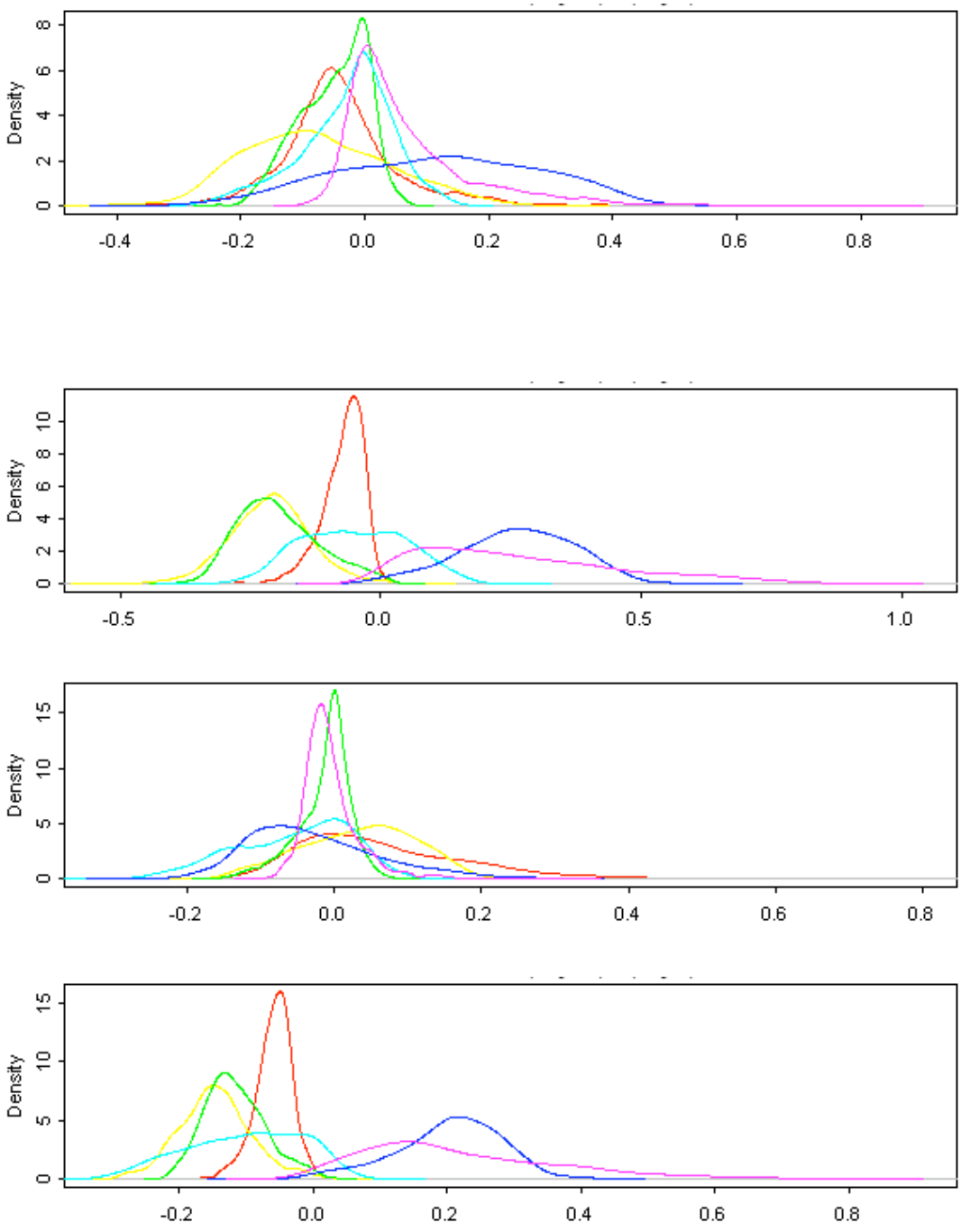
As figures 4.11 and 4.12 nicely illustrate, differences can be found in particular for two persuasive messages. Figure 4.11 shows that in Zurich matching a persuasive message relating to the Protection motivation increases the appeal of the message, and this is the case independently of whether the individual has past volunteering experience. This same effect is largely absent in Geneva. For the SEM model, there is a matching effect linked to past volunteering at both universities (table A4.3a appendix).

Figure 4.12 depicts another differential effect related to the Understanding motivation. Here, we only find an effect due to matching on the appeal of the message in Zurich, provided that respondent has some past volunteering experience. Again, in Geneva, and for respondents who do not have some past volunteering experience, this effect fails to materialize. In the SEM model, the effect is present at both universities.

For both models, there is also a matching effect in the Values group due to past volunteering at both universities. Past volunteering experience increases the matching effect in the Values treatment group. However, as we do not have observations in this group for all models when split by past volunteering and university, we refrain from showing the results.

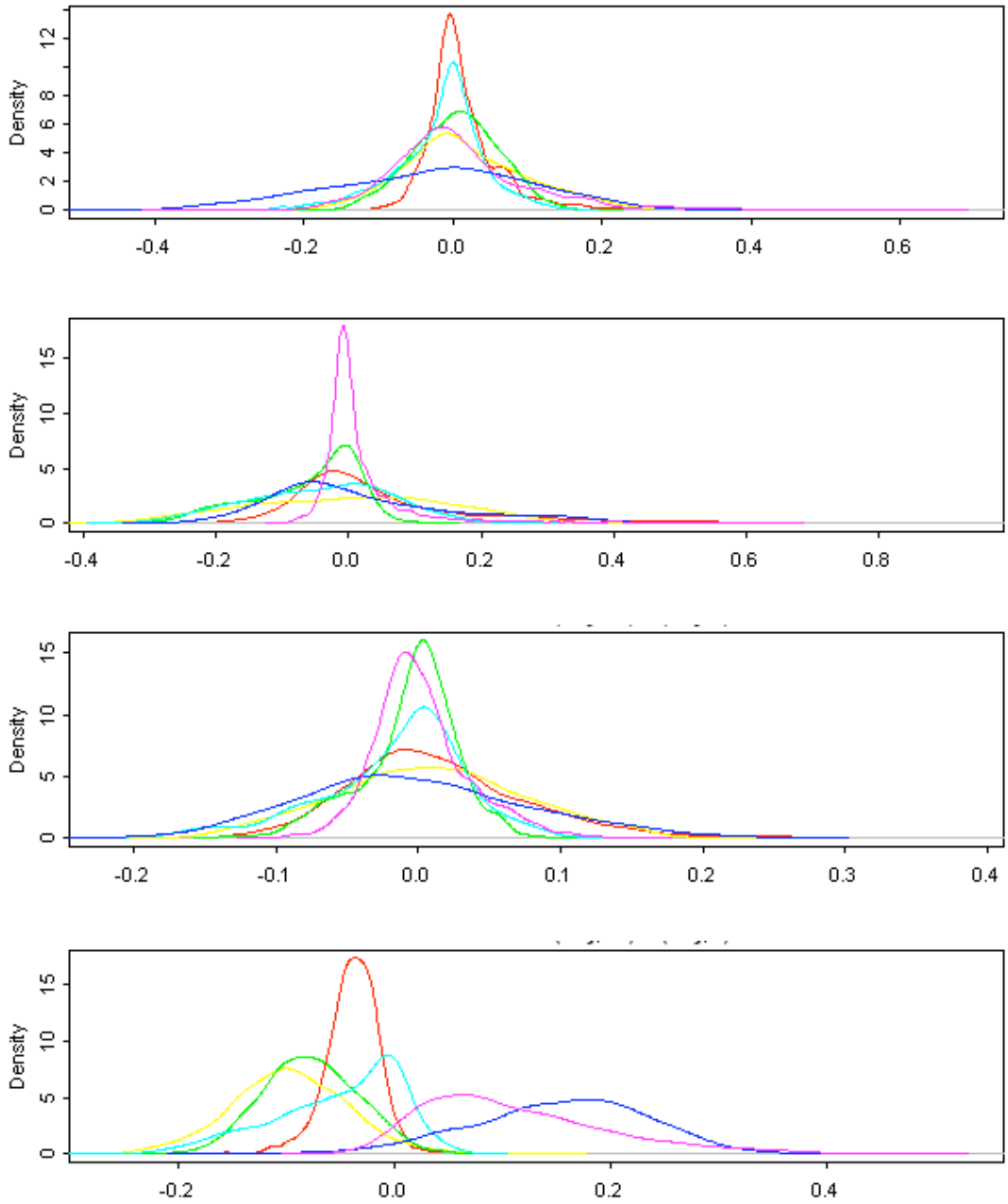
[68] Again, the results for these models appear in the appendix.

Figure 4.11: Differential Effects of Matching for Protection Motivations on Appeal of Message[69]



[69] Top panel: Geneva no past volunteering; second panel: Zurich no past volunteering; third panel: Geneva past volunteering; last panel: Zurich past volunteering; red: category 1 (not at all true); yellow: category 2; green: category 3; turquoise: category 4; blue: category 5; pink: category 6 (completely true).

Figure 4.12: Differential Effects of Matching for Understanding Motivations on Appeal of Message[70]



Thus, past volunteering seems to influence the effect of the Understanding and Values motivation in opposite directions. While matching the Values motivation has less effect on people without past volunteering, the Understanding

[70] Top panel: Geneva no past volunteering; second panel: Zurich no past volunteering; third panel: Geneva past volunteering; last panel: Zurich past volunteering; red: category 1 (not at all true); yellow: category 2; green: category 3; turquoise: category 4; blue: category 5; pink: category 6 (completely true).

motivation has more effect on people without previous volunteer experience. The matching effect of the Protection motive seems to be largely university-dependent.

4.5 Discussion

The aim of this study was to find out more about the interaction of volunteer motives and persuasive messages. To this end, we conducted an online experiment that entailed the completion of a motive questionnaire following Clary et al. (1998) and as a second step, the exposure to a persuasive message regarding volunteer recruitment according to motive type. We ran our estimations with standard models based on a procedure using maximum response values. The basis was a first-order six-factor model described in Clary et al. (1994). Moreover we used the estimated values of a theoretically derived post-hoc Values model. The results of both estimations are very similar and thus confirm the robustness of the approach.

Four motive categories were found to be predominant in the participants: The most highly rated motive was Values – an other-oriented, altruistic motive – followed by Understanding, Enhancement and Career, which are predominantly self-oriented. This confirms the results of previous studies that found the Values, Understanding and Enhancement motives to be most prevalent. The Understanding and Career motives, which we thought to be prevalent for this student sample, thus do in fact play an important role in reasoning to engage in volunteer activity. In the second-order Values model (SEM), the Social and Protection motives turn out to take on a more important position in the motive structure of individuals.

There are some differences in distribution in terms of language region (university) and gender. The Protection and Enhancement group of motives seem to be more highly rated in Geneva than Zurich, which is at odds with the results of previous studies (Stadelmann-Steffen et al. 2007). In terms of

gender, the Understanding motive proves to be more important for female students. Some motives are, as expected, influenced by present volunteering activities of participants, namely the Social and Understanding motives, which are more relevant for existing volunteers. The Values motive was found to be more important for non-volunteers, thus confirming the findings of several studies (Omoto and Snyder 1995; Finkelstein 2008; Haski-Leventhal 2009). With continued social interaction in volunteer organisations, the initially dominant personal values motivation loses importance. Therefore, socialisation processes remain significant for the volunteer motive structure throughout the volunteering process. In the second-order model, Value motive scores are generally higher in females whereas the Social motive is more highly rated in males. In this model, Volunteer Motivation (VM), which is a latent variable influenced by values and socialisation, is higher in women than men, independent of university.

As for the matching effect, we found that there is a positive influence of matching motive and message in terms of message appeal. This applies to a lesser extent to the propensity to volunteer as well. Our matching hypothesis, that recruitment efforts emphasizing one of the identified motives for volunteering will most strongly encourage individuals to volunteer for whom this motive is of central importance, was thus confirmed. When the matching hypothesis was tested with the SEM variables, the results were very similar, if a little weaker.

The type of message was significant for message appeal in some instances, with the Protection message having the strongest effect followed by Understanding. For the propensity to join, the type of message participants were exposed to had no statistically significant effect. When controlling for present/previous volunteering experience, there was no effect of volunteering experience for Protection in Zurich. For the Understanding motive, the effect of matching applies only to people with volunteering experience in Zurich, in the standard model, but to both groups in the SEM model. The treatment effect for

all types of persuasive messages was fairly low, however, confirming the findings of a recent study that survey experiments have to deal with a drop-off in size and scope of treatment effects (Barabas and Jerit 2010: 238).

In order to increase the external validity of our design, as a next step, we will test, the interaction of persuasive messages and motives, as well as motives and selected incentives in a field experiment (chapter 5). Letters for volunteer recruitment, containing persuasive messages, were sent to random addresses. In co-operation with non-profit organisations, positive replies were contacted and handed out a motive questionnaire. Upon taking up volunteer work for a non-profit organisation, participants received selected incentives that responded to a particular functional motive. After a period, participants completed a second questionnaire regarding their satisfaction with volunteering and their intention to stay on. In this way, the matching hypothesis can be tested with regard to both messages and incentives. Furthermore, any motivational differences due to volunteer experience can be explicitly controlled for.

Appendix Chapter 4

Tables A4.1 and A4.2 report the results upon which the graphical presentations for the main effects are based. Tables A4.3 and A4.4 report the results controlling for the experimental context and past volunteering experience. Figures A4.1 to A4.4 depict the distribution of answers for the five motive groups for the maxima and the constructed SEM variables by university and gender.

Table A4.1: Effect of Matching on Appeal of Message

					past volunteering	
					no	yes
	b (se)	b (se)	b (se)	b (se)	b (se)	b (se)
Match	0.297	0.291				
	(0.181)	(0.184)				
Social		0.073	0.085	0.071	0.618	-0.126
		(0.243	(0.251	(0.251	(0.452	(0.304
Protection		-0.099	-0.182	-0.175	-0.396	-0.074
		(0.243	(0.249	(0.249	(0.429	(0.307
Enhancement		-0.140	-0.193	-0.191	-0.734	0.150
		(0.245)	(0.259)	(0.259)	(0.429)	(0.326)
Values		0.092	0.106	0.142	0.630	-0.174
		(0.246)	(0.257)	(0.258)	(0.440)	(0.318)
Understanding		0.119	0.092	0.103	0.146	0.079
		(0.242)	(0.253)	(0.253)	(0.462)	(0.305)
Career		0.143	0.284	0.310	0.381	0.257
		(0.242)	(0.253)	(0.253)	(0.455)	(0.307)
Match*Social			0.216	0.261	-0.018	0.218
			(0.479)	(0.480)	(0.761)	(0.620)
Match*Protection			1.123	1.169	1.795	0.760
			(0.564)	(0.561)	(0.928)	(0.718)
Match*Enhancement			0.519	0.496	0.637	0.295
			(0.402)	(0.404)	(0.849)	(0.468)
Match*Values			0.217	0.157	-1.755	1.168
			(0.452)	(0.449)	(0.786)	(0.535)
Match*Understanding			0.441	0.415	0.348	0.491
			(0.427)	(0.430)	(0.872)	(0.493)
Match*Career			-0.444	-0.345	-0.611	-0.394
			(0.420)	(0.424)	(0.714)	(0.525)
Past Volunteering				0.346		
				(0.154)		
Present Volunteering				0.009		
				(0.144)		
1|2	-2.487	-2.464	-2.472	-2.472	-2.663	-2.431
	(0.139)	(0.209)	(0.209)	(0.209	(0.372)	(0.256)
2|3	-1.081	-1.057	-1.063	-1.063	-1.103	-1.070
	(0.087)	(0.178)	(0.179)	(0.179)	(0.309)	(0.221)
3|4	-0.226	-0.199	-0.201	-0.201	-0.177	-0.215
	(0.077)	(0.175)	(0.175)	(0.175)	(0.303)	(0.216)
4|5	1.059	1.089	1.096	1.096	1.020	1.169
	(0.087)	(0.180)	(0.181)	(0.181)	(0.313)	(0.224)
5|6	2.899	2.930	2.947	2.947	3.091	2.945
	(0.162)	(0.226)	(0.227)	(0.227)	(0.402)	(0.277)
Dev.	2547.250	2544.700	2539.030	2532.860	802.190	1713.720
N	764	764	764	764	244	520

Table A4.1a: Effect of Matching on Appeal of Message SEM

					past volunteering	
					no	yes
	b (se)	b (se)	b (se)	b (se)	b (se)	b (se)
Match	0.242	0.253				
	(0.192)	(0.195)				
Social		0.071	0.042	0.044	-0.047	0.090
		(0.243)	(0.253)	(0.253)	(0.470)	(0.302)
Protection		-0.117	-0.097	-0.086	-0.160	-0.055
		(0.245)	(0.255)	(0.256)	(0.463)	(0.309)
Enhancement		-0.112	-0.090	-0.104	-0.125	-0.098
		(0.243)	(0.252)	(0.252)	(0.493)	(0.295)
Values		0.109	0.052	0.091	-0.107	0.224
		(0.245)	(0.253)	(0.254)	(0.434)	(0.316)
Understanding		0.138	0.163	0.176	0.359	0.090
		(0.241)	(0.249)	(0.250)	(0.450)	(0.301)
Career		0.171	0.187	0.230	0.339	0.151
		(0.240)	(0.245)	(0.246)	(0.421)	(0.306)
Match*Social			0.419	0.357	-1.279	0.629
			(0.443)	(0.444)	(1.113)	(0.485)
Match*Protection			0.143	0.151	0.183	0.138
			(0.445)	(0.447)	(0.768)	(0.553)
Match*Enhancement			0.108	0.187	0.868	-0.469
			(0.465)	(0.471)	(0.712)	(0.626)
Match*Values			0.667	0.575	-1.120	0.704
			(0.497)	(0.497)	(1.513)	(0.546)
Match*Understanding			0.076	0.017	-1.244	0.336
			(0.481)	(0.478)	(1.112)	(0.527)
Match*Career			0.098	0.129	0.412	-0.226
			(0.549)	(0.552)	(0.787)	(0.765)
Past Volunteering				0.332		
				(0.157)		
Present Volunteering				0.028		
				(0.146)		
1|2	-2.498	-2.464	-2.466	-2.225	-2.073	-2.729
	(0.139)	(0.209)	(0.209)	(0.230)	(0.360)	(0.265)
2|3	-1.093	-1.056	-1.058	-0.810	-0.775	-1.201
	(0.087)	(0.178)	(0.178)	(0.205)	(0.329)	(0.215)
3|4	-0.239	-0.200	-0.200	0.052	0.016	-0.288
	(0.077)	(0.175)	(0.175)	(0.203)	(0.326)	(0.209)
4|5	1.045	1.089	1.091	1.349	1.266	1.047
	(0.086)	(0.180)	(0.180)	(0.210)	(0.337)	(0.215)
5/5	2.885	2.929	2.933	3.194	2.917	2.991
	(0.161)	(0.226)	(0.226)	(0.251)	(0.409)	(0.274)
Dev.	2548.364	2545.503	2544.296	2538.257	1696.127	1696.127
N	769.000	769.000	769.000	769.000	246.000	523.000

Table A4.2: Effect of Matching on Propensity to Join

					Past Volunteering	
					no	yes
	b (se)	b (se)	b (se)	b (se)	b (se)	b (se)
Match	0.236	0.241				
	(0.186)	(0.190)				
Social		-0.089	-0.120	-0.132	-0.574	0.156
		(0.244)	(0.251)	(0.251)	(0.479)	(0.301)
Protection		-0.442	-0.420	-0.419	-1.280	-0.002
		(0.239)	(0.246)	(0.247)	(0.434)	(0.303)
Enhancement		-0.226	-0.357	-0.350	-1.073	0.031
		(0.243)	(0.255)	(0.256)	(0.429)	(0.320)
Values		-0.176	-0.140	-0.095	-0.896	0.300
		(0.243)	(0.252)	(0.253)	(0.412)	(0.321)
Understanding		-0.071	-0.097	-0.095	-0.278	0.062
		(0.242)	(0.253)	(0.253)	(0.442)	(0.310)
Career		0.202	0.325	0.346	-0.465	0.704
		(0.245)	(0.256)	(0.256)	(0.477)	(0.310)
Match*Social			0.511	0.509	-2.532	0.996
			(0.558)	(0.559)	(1.357)	(0.590)
Match*Protection			0.042	0.036	0.944	-0.400
			(0.504)	(0.505)	(0.824)	(0.630)
Match*Enhancement			0.858	0.859	1.722	0.365
			(0.413)	(0.415)	(0.666)	(0.525)
Match*Values			0.005	-0.042	0.985	-0.322
			(0.471)	(0.468)	(0.991)	(0.537)
Match*Understanding			0.384	0.367	0.269	0.352
			(0.441)	(0.441)	(0.673)	(0.603)
Match*Career			-0.400	-0.326	0.437	-0.812
			(0.437)	(0.439)	(0.752)	(0.545)
Past Volunteering				0.224		
				(0.153)		
Present Volunteering				0.177)		
				(0.144)		
1|2	-1.995	-2.123	-2.132	-1.907	-2.857	-1.806
	(0.115)	(0.195)	(0.195)	(0.219)	(0.348)	(0.240)
2|3	-0.460	-0.582	-0.586	-0.356	-1.145	-0.289
	(0.079)	(0.175)	(0.175)	(0.202)	(0.294)	(0.220)
3|4	0.453	0.337	0.339	0.573	-0.093	0.610
	(0.078)	(0.173)	(0.173)	(0.202)	(0.282)	(0.221)
4|5	1.766	1.662	1.670	1.911	1.280	1.947
	(0.105)	(0.186)	(0.187)	(0.215)	(0.300)	(0.239)
5/5	3.654	3.556	3.568	3.811	3.259	3.818
	(0.229)	(0.275)	(0.276)	(0.296)	(0.479)	(0.341)
Dev.	2498.790	2490.460	2485.360	2479.400	769.720	1694.010
N	764	764	764	764	244	520

Table A4.3: Effect on Appeal of Message as Function of Past Volunteering and University

	Past Volunteering no		Past Volunteering yes	
	Geneva b (se)	Zurich b (se)	Geneva b (se)	Zurich b (se)
Social	0.526	0.775	-0.480	0.212
	(0.645)	(0.647)	(0.448)	(0.420)
Protection	-0.206	-0.568	-0.380	0.244
	(0.656)	(0.593)	(0.431)	(0.442)
Enhancement	-0.430	-1.197	-0.056	0.365
	(0.576)	(0.659)	(0.450)	(0.478)
Values	0.545	0.741	-0.393	0.035
	(0.609)	(0.651)	(0.426)	(0.490)
Understanding	0.945	-0.541	-0.283	0.443
	(0.663)	(0.655)	(0.435)	(0.431)
Career	0.628	0.093	-0.161	0.647
	(0.631)	(0.672)	(0.451)	(0.424)
Match*Social	0.604	-0.428	1.045	-0.364
	(1.252)	(0.989)	(0.951)	(0.801)
Match*Protection	0.789	2.747	-0.407	1.937
	(1.334)	(1.223)	(0.915)	(0.915)
Match*Enhancement	0.127	1.730	0.003	0.547
	(1.003)	(1.575)	(0.679)	(0.653)
Match*Values	-2.858	-0.621	1.322	1.123
	(1.096)	(1.007)	(0.822)	(0.730)
Match*Understanding	-0.103	-0.177	-0.069	1.147
	(1.047)	(1.556)	(0.685)	(0.712)
Match*Career	0.502	-0.980	-0.493	-0.299
	(1.245)	(0.895)	(0.777)	(0.713)
1|2	-2.428	-3.104	-2.576	-2.340
	(0.506)	(0.573)	(0.358)	(0.371)
2|3	-0.969	-1.313	-1.356	-0.798
	(0.423)	(0.461)	(0.316)	(0.312)
3|4	-0.253	-0.124	-0.439	0.008
	(0.417)	(0.449)	(0.307)	(0.308)
4|5	0.958	1.190	0.942	1.439
	(0.431)	(0.467	(0.314	(0.322
5|6	3.179	3.169	2.672	3.309
	(0.557)	(0.601)	(0.390)	(0.401)
Dev.	391.820	391.040	853.100	847.970
N	123	125	258	263

Table A4.3a : Effect Appeal of Message as a Function of Past Volunteering and University SEM

	Past Volunteering			
	no		yes	
	Geneva b (se)	Zurich b (se)	Geneva b (se)	Zurich b (se)
Social	-0.675	0.768	-0.388	0.641
	(0.634)	(0.722)	(0.440)	(0.433)
Protection	-0.428	0.138	-0.088	-0.057
	(0.673)	(0.663)	(0.474)	(0.421)
Enhancement	-0.655	0.412	-0.236	-0.266
	(0.757)	(0.636)	(0.422)	(0.397)
Values	0.012	-0.019	0.538	-0.105
	(0.629)	(0.609)	(0.475)	(0.424)
Understanding	0.248	0.376	-0.629	0.786
	(0.595)	(0.704)	(0.428)	(0.425)
Career	0.065	0.411	-0.270	0.610
	(0.611)	(0.641)	(0.457)	(0.427)
Match*Social	-1.990	0.317	0.686	-0.044
	(1.341)	(1.591)	(0.723)	(0.640)
Match*Protection	-0.720	1.038	-0.776	1.035
	(1.145)	(0.928)	(0.696)	(0.773)
Match*Enhancement	1.879	0.673	0.065	
	(1.101)	(1.554)	(1.520)	
Match*Values	-1.498		0.020	0.845
	(1.530)		(0.663)	(0.808)
Match*Understanding	0.674	0.670	-1.416	-0.134
	(0.780)	(0.901)	(0.999)	(0.890)
Match*Career		-0.851	0.458	0.393
		(1.203)	(1.096)	(0.779)
1|2	-2.257	-1.931	-2.977	-2.687
	(0.502)	(0.528)	(0.395)	(0.367)
2|3	-1.287	-0.271	-1.746	-0.862
	(0.462)	(0.480)	(0.338)	(0.281)
3|4	-0.307	0.418	-0.838	0.122
	(0.449)	(0.483)	(0.324)	(0.276)
4|5	0.942	1.752	0.497	1.586
	(0.456)	(0.507)	(0.323)	(0.297)
5|6	2.411	3.807	2.160	4.545
	(0.524)	(0.687)	(0.362)	(0.569)
Dev.	412.440	397.860	836.898	804.487
N	123.000	123.000	258.000	265.000

Table A4.4: Effect on Propensity to Join as a Function of Past Volunteering and University

	Past Volunteering no		Past Volunteering yes	
	Geneva	Zurich	Geneva	Zurich
	b (se)	b (se)	b (se)	b (se)
Social	0.931	-1.979	-0.074	0.275
	(0.700)	(0.681)	(0.444)	(0.420)
Protection	0.063	-2.558	0.249	-0.243
	(0.627)	(0.626)	(0.430)	(0.431)
Enhancement	-1.099	-1.341	-0.062	0.166
	(0.646)	(0.601)	(0.432)	(0.483)
Values	0.364	-2.078	0.405	0.193
	(0.595)	(0.594)	(0.453)	(0.461)
Understanding	0.043	-0.493	0.424	-0.260
	(0.590)	(0.712)	(0.449)	(0.435)
Career	-0.298	-0.860	0.811	0.607
	(0.718)	(0.667)	(0.426)	(0.457)
Match*Social	-17.972	-0.602	1.013	0.844
	(0.000)	(1.632)	(1.490)	(0.665)
Match*Protection	0.462	1.319	-0.932	0.960
	(1.196)	(1.126)	(0.734)	(1.223)
Match*Enhancement	2.281	1.527	0.682	-0.084
	(0.891)	(1.096)	(0.665)	(0.884)
Match*Values	0.199		0.408	-1.527
	(1.059)		(0.677)	(0.818)
Match*Understanding	0.092	0.679	-1.374	1.363
	(0.850)	(1.160)	(0.969)	(0.739)
Match*Career	1.932	-0.381	-1.117	-0.721
	(1.274)	(0.953)	(0.943)	(0.681)
1|2	-2.803	-3.426	-1.895	-1.819
	(0.533)	(0.512)	(0.340)	(0.346)
2|3	-0.736	-1.737	-0.179	-0.426
	(0.405)	(0.448)	(0.305)	(0.322)
3|4	0.528	-0.740	0.773	0.461
	(0.402)	(0.420)	(0.308)	(0.322)
4|5	1.782	0.920	2.032	1.906
	(0.437)	(0.429)	(0.334)	(0.346)
5|6	3.635	3.211	3.866	3.819
	(0.632)	(0.786)	(0.479)	(0.489)
Dev.	368.730	371.130	825.770	851.980
N	123	125	258	263

Figure A4.1: Motivation (max) by University

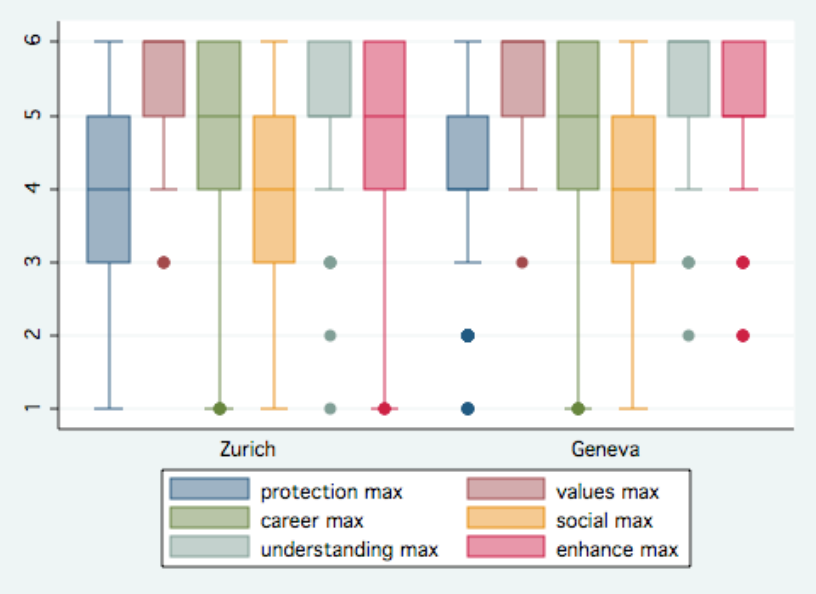


Figure A4.2: Motivation (SEM) by University

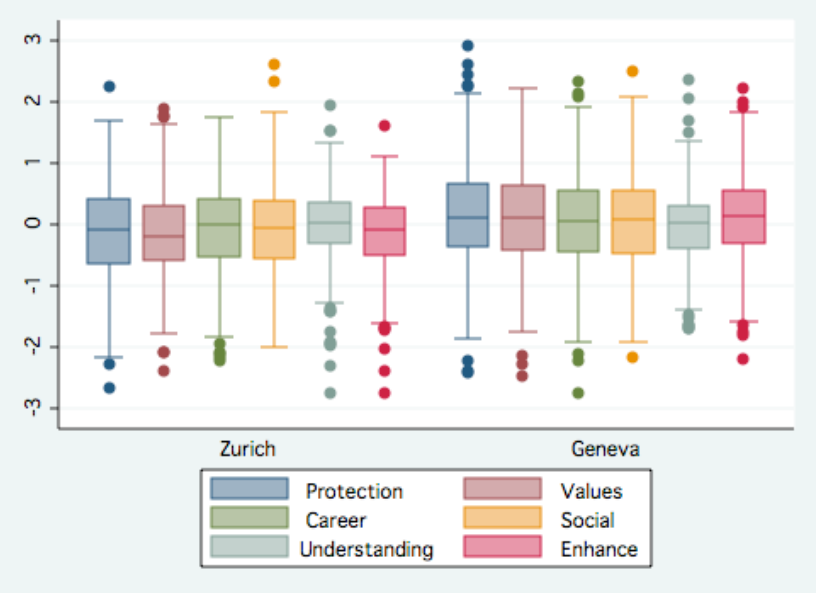


Figure A4.3: Motivation (max) by University and Gender

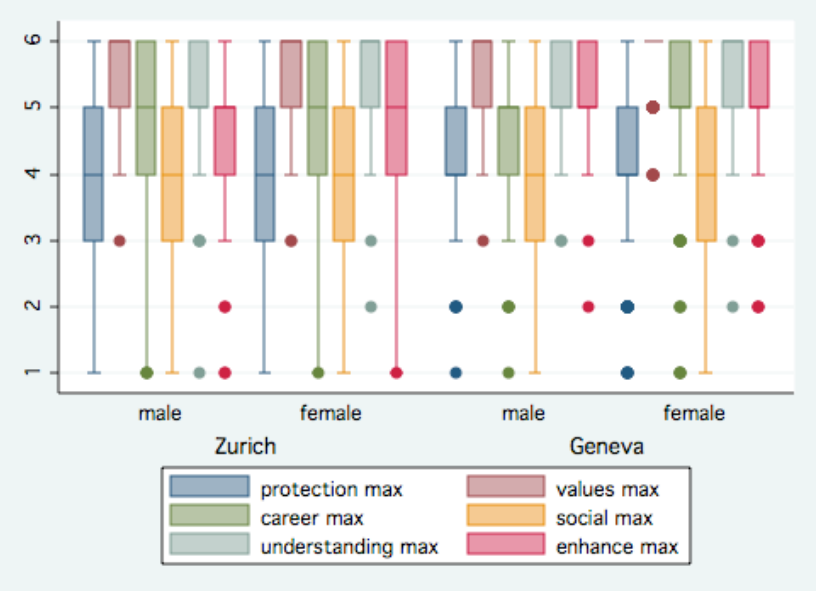


Figure A.4.4: Motivation (SEM) by University and Gender

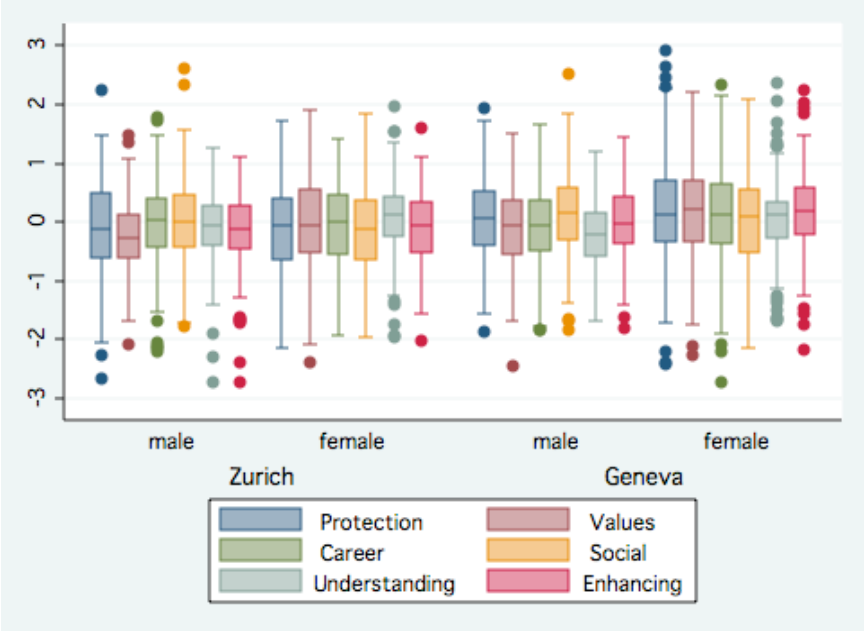


Figure A4.5: Volunteer Motivation (VM) by University and Gender

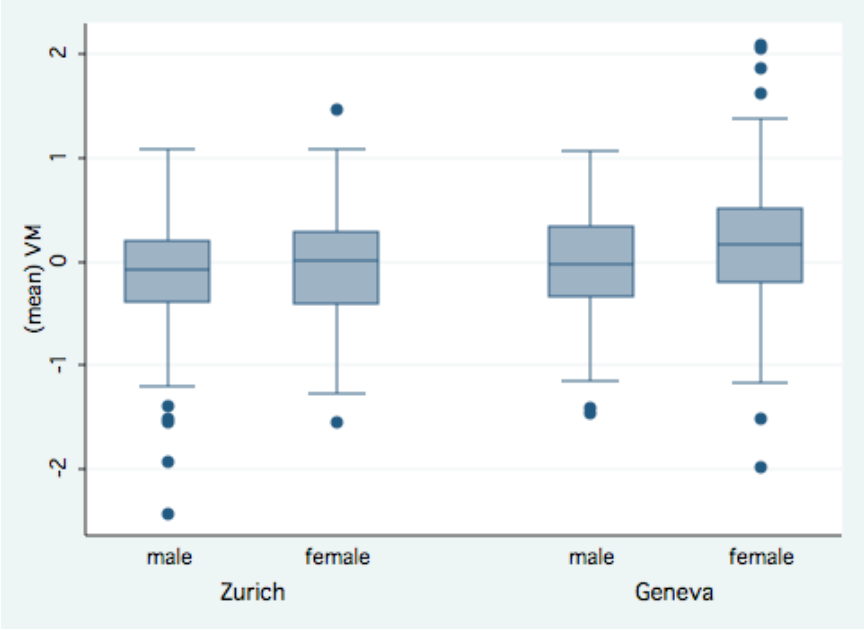
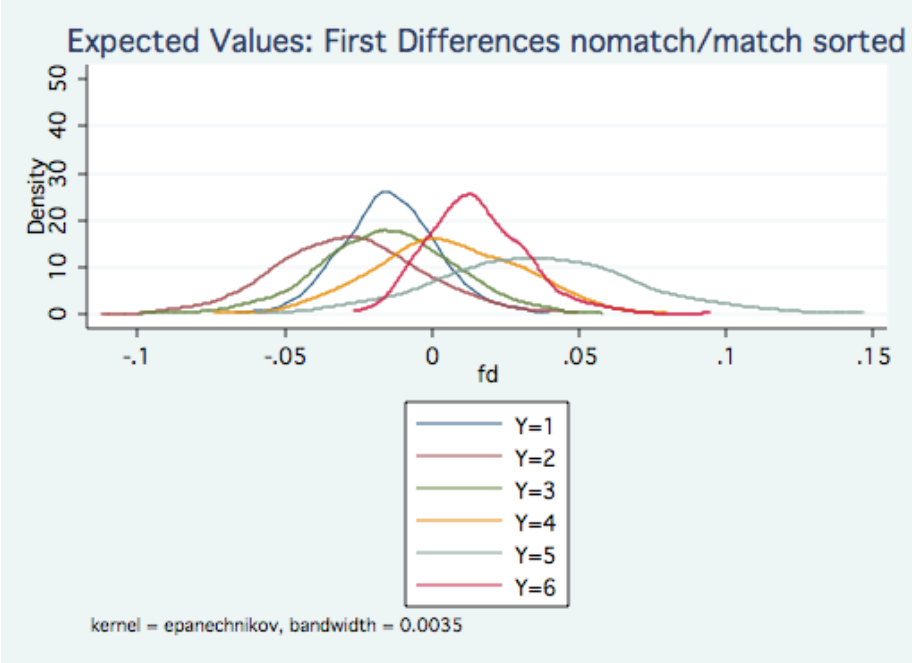


Figure A4.6: Difference in Answer Category when Matched (SEM)



Chapter 5

The Field Experiment: Confirming Results

5.1 Introduction

The previous chapter showed a positive effect of matching motives with persuasive messages in the volunteer recruitment process in a series of online experiments. In this chapter, I will present the results of a field experiment that seeks to establish external validity for the findings of the online experiment. Overall, the field experiment confirms the results of the online experiment, namely the positive effect of matching motive and persuasive message on the recruitment outcome.

The experimental set-up of the online experiment was such that participants receive a motive questionnaire first and are then exposed to the treatment, persuasive messages for volunteer recruitment. In order to prevent distortion through questionnaire effects, the experimental set-up for the field experiment foresees a reversed order, i.e. exposure to treatment followed by a motives questionnaire. In addition to matching volunteer motives and persuasive messages, a further matching procedure is introduced. Participants of the field experiment receive targeted incentives during their volunteer experience in order to test for positive effects of matching on volunteer outcomes such as satisfaction and intention to stay on as volunteers. The theoretical basis of this assumption is the functional approach to volunteering which assumes that action, such as reacting to a volunteer recruitment appeal, is subject to attitudes, which in turn are formed to serve individual needs. As was discussed in previous chapters, attitude functions or motives serve as a moderator between attitudes and values.

Therefore, motives encompass the expected individual return of an activity (volunteering) as well as the overarching values in a given society. Persuasive messages or incentives frame the context of a particular action. Context, in terms of persuasion and incentives, therefore has an impact on volunteer recruitment efforts. The field experiment thus tests a number of contextual

factors underlying action. The results of the online study regarding the matching of message and motive were confirmed and some tentative conclusions (due to the small N at the final stage of the experiment) can be made regarding the matching of incentives and motives.

In the first section, I will briefly review the literature on motives for prosocial action at different stages of the volunteer process in relation to incentives and the implications for our expectations for the voluntary sector. In the following section a brief study overview is given and the methods used are further expanded on. Finally, results are discussed with a particular focus on the practical implications of the findings.

5.2 Matching Motivation with Incentives to Volunteer

We learned from chapter 3, that the basic motivations for volunteering are moderated by personal values und socialisation. The motive structure of volunteers can change throughout the volunteer process. Moreover, chapter 4 found a positive effect of matching persuasive messages and volunteer motivation on the appeal of volunteer recruitment messages.

Addressing the question of incentives for prosocial action, we can draw on a long tradition of work in various disciplines regarding charitable giving and volunteer work. In the 1930s, Barnard (1938: 139) developed a systematic analysis of incentives for individuals in (for profit) organisations under the assumption that "the contributions of personal efforts which constitute the energies of organisations are yielded by individuals because of incentives. The egotistical motives of self-preservation and self-gratification are dominating forces." Whereas in the case of for-profit businesses, the prevalence of the congruence of material incentives in order to satisfy material motives may be uncontested, in "The Logic of Collective Action", Olson (1965) also challenged the view that individuals would join a charitable organisation without personal

reward in order to produce a public good. Cnaan and Goldberg-Glen (1991: 281) conclude that "...people will continue to volunteer as long as the experience as a whole is rewarding and satisfying to their unique needs ..." While their statement is almost a truism, it also does not provide further insights into either initial motives or incentives that aid volunteer retention. Thus, a basic problem of motivational studies emerges, namely temporal incongruence. All studies conducted so far interviewed volunteers who had been volunteering for some time, or people who do not volunteer at all. To our knowledge, no single study has been able to follow the actual process from recruitment to extended service, and it therefore remains an open question whether motives change from initial motives to volunteer to motives that commit volunteers to their task. Thus, not only may motives change over time but particular motives may be linked to duration and frequency of volunteering.

A number of studies have examined the effect of motives on volunteer duration (e.g. Finkelstein 2008a, Omoto and Snyder 1995, Penner and Finkelstein 1998) and frequency (e.g. Allison, Okun and Dutridge 2002, Finkelstein 2008b, Greenslade and White 2005, Penner and Finkelstein 1998) making use of a functional approach to volunteer motives (Clary et al. 1998). The duration of volunteering (length of service) was found to be positively related to the Enhancement and Understanding motive by Omoto and Snyder (1995) and Finkelstein (2008a), but related to the Value motive by Penner and Finkelstein (1998). A possible reason for this difference, however, is the divergent study design, rather than the changing motives.[71] The frequency of volunteering seems to be related most strongly to the Value motive (Allison, Okun and

[71] First, Penner and Finkelstein (1998) used a cash incentive that benefited charity of choice at all stages (3 stages) whereas Omoto and Snyder (1995) chose one that benefited respondents personally. Other-oriented (altruistic) individuals may be more inclined to respond than self-oriented individuals if there is some benefit for the organisation by responding, thus leading to a possible selection bias. Secondly, Omoto and Snyder (1995) as well as Finkelstein (2008a) surveyed volunteers once and then used motives as a predictor of volunteer service (which was checked with the organisation after a period). Both therefore reported which type of motivation was a predictor of volunteer time. Penner and Finkelstein (1998), on the other hand distributed questionnaires at three different stages of the volunteer process and were thus able to measure *change* in volunteer motives in those volunteers that had stayed on.

Dutridge 2002, Finkelstein 2008b, Greenslade and White 2005, Penner and Finkelstein 1998).

Allison, Okun and Dutridge (2002) also tested the reliability of the VFI instrument by using an open-ended probe before administering the VFI scale. The correlations between the two instruments were modest, possibly due to limited variation in the sample. Only four comparable dimensions emerged as a result. As discussed above, the number of discernible motives may also be connected to the length of service as volunteers. Taken together, these studies imply that the Values motive is the most enduring motive for volunteering but that the prevalence of motives can change throughout the volunteer process. This confirms the findings from chapter 3, that values are an enduring, superordinate influence on other types of motivation. It is unclear, however, what factors reinforce the willingness to volunteer. It has been suggested that targeted incentives or priming, which match personal motivation, might amplify initial motivation.

As the basic premises of motives for volunteering have been tested and developed further (for an overview see, for example, Knoke (1986) or Chinman and Wandersman (1999)), the importance of the congruence of motives and incentives was confirmed, at least for organisations with a fairly homogenous membership base. Adverse effects of mismatches between motives and incentives have recently been studied in diverse fields and with various methods. The basic argument is that extrinsic performance incentives (reinforcement) have a negative effect on the interest in a task (intrinsic motivation) and creativity for mastering that task (Deci and Ryan 1985).[72] Rewards can, in fact, enhance intrinsic motivation if they produce a feeling of competence in the reward recipient. However, if the reward leads to a perceived loss of autonomy, i.e. the reward-giver controls the task fulfilment, the reward recipient no longer links his competence to that task and therefore

[72] For an overview of studies on the negative effect of rewards on intrinsic motivation and a critique thereof, see Eisenberger and Cameron (1996).

loses his intrinsic motivation (Ryan and Deci 2000). This crowding-out effect of extrinsic motivation (incentives) can be accentuated by other mechanisms, such as the principle of reciprocity and the perception of fairness (Frey and Osterloh 1997). However, an alternative, more differentiated view of the effect of rewards has been put forward, indicating that the effect of a reward very much depends on what and how it is given. A material reward does not always have detrimental effects, as much depends on the size of the reward (higher rewards tend to have a more negative effect (Eisenberger and Cameron 1996), its relevance for the task, and whether it was expected (unexpected rewards are more motivating) (Schuster et al. 1997).

In the area of volunteering in the human service area, two studies (Frey and Goette 1999, Benabou and Tirole 2003) examined the negative effect of monetary rewards on volunteer output when intrinsic motives were prevalent in volunteers, although only the former study had an empirical basis. An interesting yet somewhat inconclusive effort in this area was Puffer and Meindl's (1992) case study on whether the effect of congruence/ incongruence of motives and incentives on volunteers affect satisfaction and performance. They summarized their results as follows: "To ensure positive affect, volunteers should be given the incentives they value. To ensure good performance, volunteers should be given incentives based on how their motives fit with the organisation's values." This latter finding ties in with Frey and Goette's (1999) results and suggests that incentives must reflect organisational values to some extent as indicated by Clark and Wilson (1961).

Clary et al. (1998) ran a total of six studies, with different samples, on the role of motives and incentives for volunteering. The congruence of motives and incentives reportedly enhanced volunteers' satisfaction with volunteering and their readiness to continue volunteering in the future. Their work is very promising, but nevertheless suffers from a series of methodological problems.[73]

[73] First, by using closed questions throughout the whole interview process, the set of motivations to be uncovered is given at the outset. Second, the experimental study suffers from the absence of a control group, making inferences more problematic. Finally, given the setup of

The aim of this study is to take their work as a basis for a field experiment that tests the question addressed in their study, while attempting to avoid the aforementioned methodological problems. Moreover, it wishes to pick up the threads of the other literature cited, namely the question of altruistic versus egotistic motives and the change of motives throughout the volunteering process.

I thus expect a beneficial role of matching volunteer incentives with volunteer motives for *volunteer satisfaction and volunteer commitment*. The incentive categories planned for this experiment correspond to the six motive categories elaborated by Clary et al. (1998). The sample consists of respondents from two different linguistic regions in Switzerland, as these have been found to constitute separate value regions by some authors (Schwartz 1999; Inglehart and Oyserman 2004) and may therefore be responsible for differences in motives. Furthermore, differences in age and socio-economic status are controlled for as these have been found to be strong predictors of volunteer work (Wilson and Musick 1997).[74] No significant differences in terms of gender are expected, as the "socialisation into nurturing roles" (Wilson and Musick 1997) of women does not necessarily affect values, but rather attitudes towards gender roles. These may, as Wilson and Musick (1997) have found, be more relevant to informal volunteering. It is thus possible to observe motives throughout the volunteering process in a naturalistic setting and with an experimental design. Moreover, the effects of matching motives with affective stimuli - persuasive messages and incentives - are tested. The insights gained will not only close an important gap in the literature but will also be of practical value to third-sector organisations in order to recruit and retain volunteers. Matching effects of motive and affective stimuli are not limited to incentives but have some relevance in persuasion theory as we found in chapter 4. Building on these findings, we hypothesize *that individuals who have matching motives, are*

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the research design, the authors had to rely on retrospective assessments, which cause considerable problems.

[74] Wilson and Musick (1997) find a significant positive relationship between age, education, income and formal volunteering.

more strongly motivated to respond to persuasive messages and their motivation will, as a consequence, be more durable. This is tested by sending framed messages asking for volunteers to random households. Participants with matching motives should drop out less frequently than other participants as their motivation is stronger. The messages correspond to the six motives identified by Clary et al. (1998). In a second step, incentives are provided in a randomised procedure to participants volunteering in order to provide clues regarding the effect of matching effects on volunteer outcomes.

5.3 Study Overview

5.3.1 Design

Chapters 3 and 4 discussed the methodological problems linked to survey studies in motivation research. The main problems involve self-selection, self-assessment, retrospectivity and insufficient points of measurement relating to motive change. Moreover, remedial possibilities offered by experimental designs, in particular online experiments, were outlined. However, some of the empirical results obtained in the context of lab-experiments suffered from insufficient controls and problems of external validity.

An increasingly used research design in political science, namely field experiments (Robertson and Kinder 1993; Gerber et al. 2003), allows these shortcomings to be overcome. As Druckman et al. (2006: 633) state in a recent survey article, "...field experiments enable researchers to carry out large-scale studies with direct policy relevance." In political science, field experiments are quite rare - of the 57 articles with experimental designs published in the American Political Science Review in the last 100 years, only 7% were field experiments (ibid.). Obvious reasons like time and costs involved as well as ethical questions or suitability of the research area may have contributed to the scarcity of field experiments in this area.

In the field experiment undertaken for this study, I first assess the effect of persuasive motivational messages on potential volunteers. In a second step, selective incentives are used in order to test their effect on volunteer commitment and volunteer satisfaction. Parallel to the field experiment, the online experiment described in chapters 3 and 4 was conducted in order to reduce possible motivational biases due to the exposure to persuasive messages prior to motivational assessment. The results of the field experiment are reported forthwith.

5.3.2 Participants

119 individuals (58% female, 42% male) from two linguistic regions (21% French-speaking, 79% German-speaking) betwen the ages of 18 and 80 years responded to a letter calling for volunteering in selected charities. In terms of persuasive messages, the responses were fairly equally distributed (cf. Figure 5.1). The researchers collaborated with five charitable organisations in the social sector: Red Cross, Samaritans, Caritas, Tilia (care homes) and Claro Fair Trade Shops. In total, 14 separate sections of the various organisations in five cantons were involved in the project. Two of the 14 partner organisations dropped out during the course of the study.

5.3.3 Procedure

As a first step, letters asking recipients to sign-up for volunteer work were sent to 8000 randomly drawn addresses in 6 cantons (2 French-speaking, 4 German-speaking). The letters were framed in order to appeal to one of the six volunteer motives identified by Clary et al. (1998), plus one neutral letter (control group). The letters diverged in terms of just one sentence, which was appealing to a particular motive type. That sentence was a statement regarding

the personal benefit from volunteer work by a (fictitious) volunteer. Gender, age and name of that fictitious volunteer also remained identical across the letters. The letter for the control group lacked this volunteer statement altogether. In each canton, equally sized samples of addresses received one of seven letters. The letter also contained a response form and a stamped addressed return envelope. Response forms contained contact details, age, sex and employment status. Respondents could indicate which volunteer activities they were most interested in (21 different volunteer activities).

In a next step, the contact forms returned were collected and contact details were passed on to the relevant partner organisations. Organisations then contacted interested respondents in order to clarify interest and suitability. Following this initial contact, respondents were invited for a first interview with the organisation. Directly before the interview, a questionnaire was handed out to the respondents by a representative of the organisation.

This first questionnaire comprised an open question regarding motives for volunteering (ranking), followed by the Volunteer Functions Inventory, VFI (Clary et al. 1998). The VFI contains thirty closed questions, regarding the six volunteer motives (see Appendix Chapter 3, Table A3.2). These questions were complemented by some items regarding previous and/or present volunteer experience, income and educational standard. The questionnaires were sent back to the researchers and evaluated. In order to avoid complications in the selection process (answers trickled in over a period of some months), the determination of motive type was accomplished through matching responses with those of the (much larger) group participating in the online experiment. Details of the selection process for the online sample are given in chapter 3. Once a motive type was determined, incentives were randomly assigned to participants.[75] A control group received no incentive.

[75] As the number of participants was too low to use all six (plus control group) incentives, we restricted the incentives to two - Values and Career. The Values incentive consisted of a thank-you letter from the organisation, and the Career incentive took the form of a standardized job reference that came with a letter, highlighting the career advantages of the reference.

After a period of 8 weeks after starting to volunteer with an organisation, participants were handed out their incentive by the organisation. Six weeks after having been given the incentive, participants were handed a second questionnaire. This second questionnaire comprised, again, the open and closed motive questions - this time specific to their present volunteer work. In addition to the motive questions, a series of items regarding the recruitment process, the basic parameters of their volunteer activity (organisation, support, other volunteers) as well as their satisfaction and their intention to stay on were included. Furthermore, participants were asked to indicate the average time spent volunteering.

Hence, following Campbell and Stanley's (1963: 25) notation (R: random assignment; X: intervention (or treatment); O: observation), our field experiment can be summarized as follows:

Randomization	Motivational Messages	Interview 1	Randomization	Incentives	Interview 2
R	X_{11}	O_{11}	R	X_{21}	O_{21}
R	X_{12}	O_{12}	R	X_{22}	O_{22}
R	X_{13}	O_{13}	R	X_{23}	O_{23}
R	X_{14}	O_{14}	R	X_{44}	O_{44}
R	X_{15}	O_{15}	R	X_{25}	O_{25}
R	X_{16}	O_{16}	R	X_{26}	O_{26}
R	X_{17}	O_{17}	R	X_{27}	O_{27}

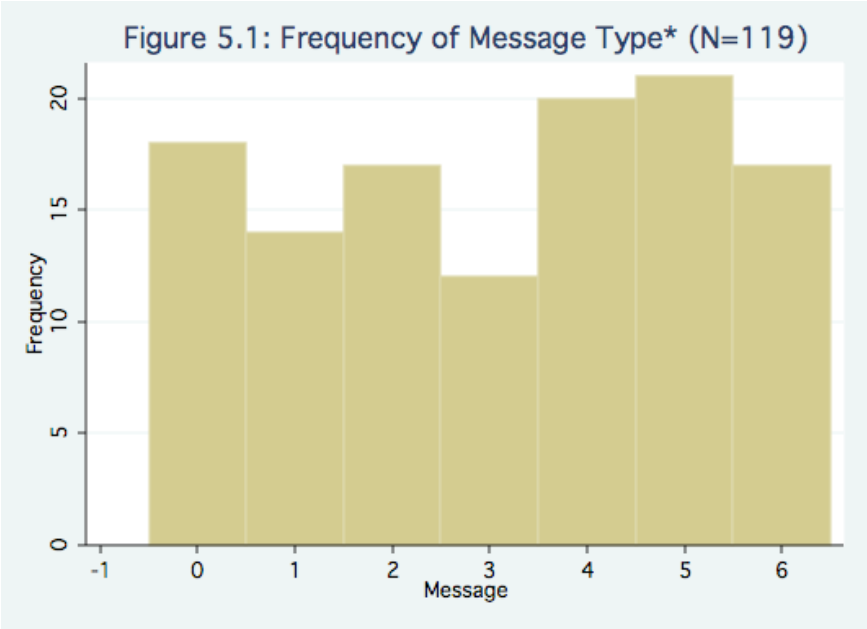
A list of indicators used and details regarding their coding can be found in Table A5.1 in the appendix. The questionnaire corresponds to that in appendix A3.2.

To summarize, this study design enables us to test the assumption regarding volunteer motives, before and during volunteering, and the effect of matching persuasive messages and incentives with volunteer motives. However, given

the low number of participants who could be retained until the final phase of the experiment, conclusions can only be of a descriptive nature.

5.4 Results and Analysis

The main objective of the research project was to gain a firmer understanding of the role of the interplay of motives, persuasive messages and incentives for volunteer recruitment and volunteer attachment (see also chapters 3 and 4). The majority of the initial 119 respondents were over 36 years of age, 58% female, 42% male. 79% of the responses came from the German-speaking part of Switzerland, and 21% from the French-speaking part, which corresponded exactly to the ratio of the randomized address sample.

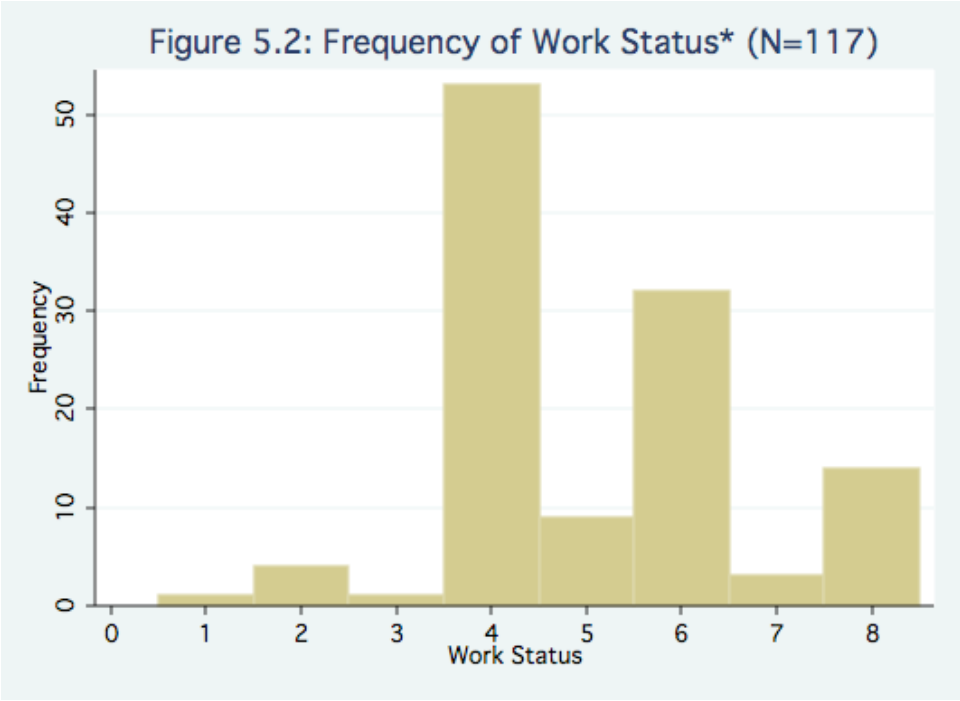


* 0= Control 1= Social 2= Protection 3= Enhancement 4= Values 5= Understanding 6= Career

The returned initial responses to the letters were distributed equally across the type of messages (Figure 5.1). Message type 3 (Enhancement) is slightly less represented. Within the message categories, there were significant differences only in terms of gender (at the 5 % level); men were overrepresented in the

Social and Protection categories, women in the Control, Enhancement and Understanding categories.[76]

As Figure 5.2 illustrates, most of respondents were employees (category 4), while the second largest consisted of pensioners (category 6). As indicated, respondents could choose from 21 different volunteer activities (multiple choices possible). The three most frequently chosen activities are, in rank order: visiting elderly or handicapped people; assisting people with forms/authorities; youth projects. There is no (statistically) significant association between work status or activity chosen and message received or between activity chosen and gender.

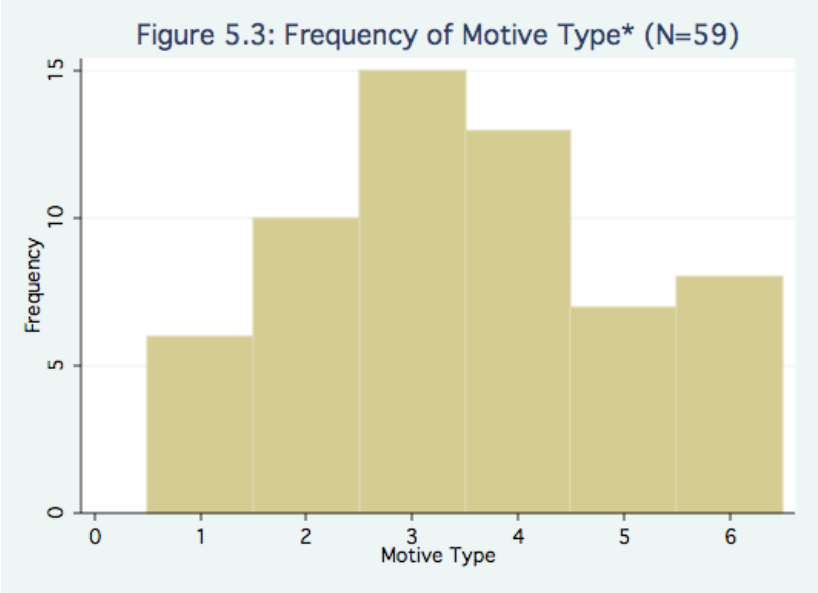


*1= Pupil, 2= Student, 3= Apprentice, 4= Employed, 5= Self-Employed, 6= Retired, 7= Unemployed, 8= Not working

Of the initial 119 respondents who answered the letter, half (59) also answered the first questionnaire, which was handed out by the charities at the time of the recruitment interview. The ratios for gender and linguistic region remain the same for this second group (60% female, 40% male, 20% French-speaking, 80% German-speaking). There is no significant association between any of the

[76] This confirms to some extent the findings of chapter 4 , in which men placed a higher significance on their peers and acquaintances volunteering than women.

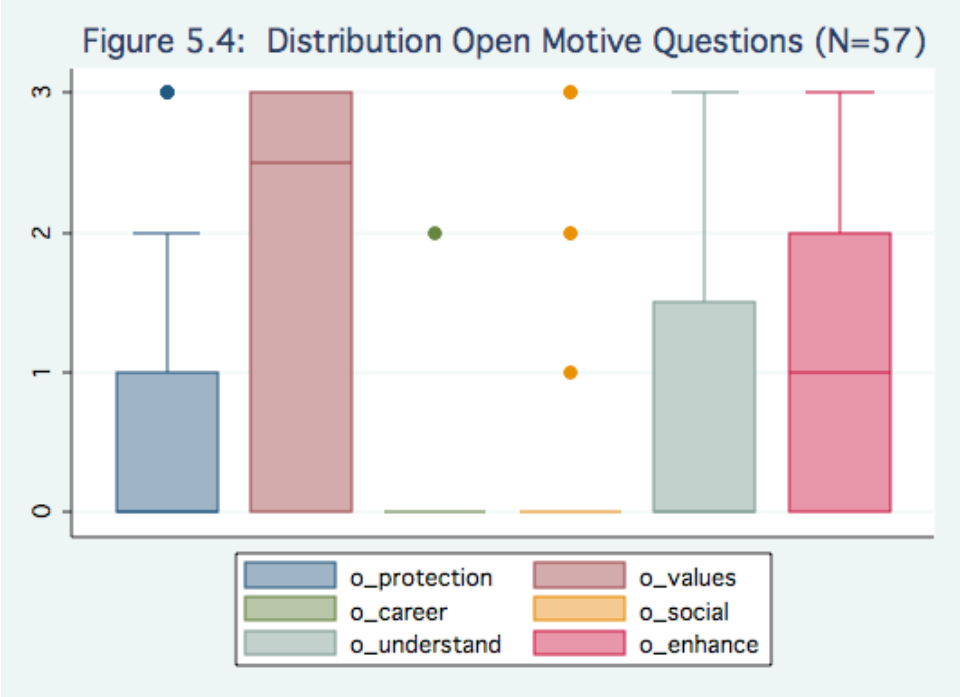
known characteristics (age, gender, work status, place of residence, volunteer preferences, letter received (persuasive message)) and the likelihood of filling out the first questionnaire. The most frequent motive in this group is Enhancement, followed by Values (Figure 5.3).



* 1= Social 2= Protection 3= Enhancement 4= Values 5= Understanding 6= Career

In the French language region, a higher percentage of cases falls into the Protection and Career categories, which reflects the findings in chapter 4. When looking at the open motive questions, a somewhat different picture emerges. Of the six motives, only the Values and Enhancement motives reach higher rankings, i.e. over two points of six (see Figure 5.4). Although the distribution is similar for the closed questions (see Figure 5.3), the contrast between the motive types is less stark.

However, there is a significant association between the message type and the motivation type, as measured by the VFI instrument in the first questionnaire (Cramer's V= .349). In most message categories, a fairly high proportion of respondents come from the corresponding motive category.



An exception is provided by the Enhancement message category, where there was no match at all. In total, 17% of cases that filled in the first questionnaire are matches between message and motive type. Based on these results, we can conclude that there can be a considerable degree of self-selection in survey studies without experimental controls. Because of the low number of participants at this stage, conclusions have to be drawn with caution.

In addition to matching, the relationship of motive type and other characteristics, such as socio-demographic characteristics and volunteer experience are of interest. As discussed above, other studies found some difference in formal volunteering between the linguistic regions in Switzerland (Stadelmann-Steffen et al. 2007). First, the French language dummy proves to be significant (Cramer's V = 0.425) because in the French sample, there were no Social and Understanding motive types, probably due to the low numbers (12 in the French group). There were no indications that motive types should be distributed differently for a particular gender but it was assumed that people with volunteer experience were more likely to belong to the Values and Social category, as values (and socialisation) are more enduring than attitudes (see chapter 2). There are indeed no gender differences in motives but previous

volunteer experience is not correlated with stronger Values or Social motivation. From the literature, it might be postulated, however, that age, income, and educational level would all be positively related to volunteering (Wilson and Musick 1997).[77] Slight positive correlations for income and educational level with volunteer experience were found, but no such effect was detected for age.

Moreover, it was hypothesized that individuals whose motives matched the message they received would have a more durable motivation than other volunteers. To test this, the project status of volunteers can be considered. Motive matches should be more successful in following the volunteer recruitment process through. Of the 59 individuals responding to the first questionnaire, 21 became active volunteers, 13 were placed on a waiting list and 25 dropped out. In other words, 82 % of initial respondents dropped out at some point during the study. Statistically significant differences were only found between active volunteers and drop-outs for organisation - certain organisations had a very high drop-out rate - and age (older people were overrepresented in the active volunteer group).[78] Participants who had matching messages and motives are, however, somewhat overrepresented in the active volunteer category - both compared to the control group and to the non-matching group - although without statistical significance. Thus the test of the first matching hypothesis remains inconclusive.[79]

The second matching hypothesis test concerns the benefits of matching volunteer incentives with volunteer motives for volunteer satisfaction and volunteer commitment. Here, however, the number of participants is even smaller - not permitting any firm conclusions to be drawn. What can be gleaned from the numbers we have is that compared to the control group, people with incentives were more satisfied with their volunteer work and were more likely to want to stay on volunteering. Overall, volunteers were very satisfied with all

[77] As measured in Volunteer experience. The correlations for education was .15 and for income .02.
[78] Cramer's V was .430 for age and .462 for organisation.
[79] Drop-out rates are of course partly influenced by the organisations themselves.

aspects of their volunteer work: The recruitment process, their contact with the organisation, the way in which they received support in their work and the work itself (cf. Table A5.2 Appendix).

The stability of the VFI items was fairly high - on average items did not change by more than 0.77 points (on a six-point scale) between questionnaires (in approx. 4 months). Most items received slightly higher ratings, with the exception of the career items, which dropped on average. Of the open motive questions, the ranking of Values increased considerably, on average (1.7), while other motives received a slightly lower ranking in the second questionnaire. This could be interpreted as further proof of the stability of values in volunteers (cf. Penner and Finkelstein 1998). There are, however, no statistically significant differences between individuals with existing or previous volunteer experience in terms of motive change. Overall, there is some tentative support for our matching hypotheses, but due to insufficient numbers, no firm conclusions can be drawn.

5.5 Discussion

The aim of this study was to shed some light on certain contextual motivational factors, i.e. the interactions between motives and affective stimuli such as incentives and persuasive messages. To this end, a field experiment in collaboration with social charities in two different linguistic regions of Switzerland was conducted. Volunteers were recruited by means of persuasive messages. Those volunteers were interviewed once before starting volunteer work and once after having started and having received an incentive. The effect of matching motives with firstly, message, and secondly, incentives, was to be tested. The form of a field experiment was chosen in order to increase the external validity of the overall research project, comprising an online experiment and a field experiment. This objective was achieved as the results

of the field experiment confirmed those of the online experiment to a large extent.

In line with other studies, the Values and Enhancement motives were found to be predominant in participants. There was some support for the matching hypothesis, both in terms of persuasive messages and in terms of incentives. Individuals whose motive matched the message to which they responded also showed more perseverance in terms of the volunteer recruitment process. In the same vein, a matching of motives and incentives showed more satisfied volunteers. Here, the conclusions remain somewhat uncertain, however, due to the low number of participants at this stage. There was also some evidence of a positive association between income, education and volunteer experience.

Safety is clearly to be gained in numbers, i.e. these results have to be interpreted with caution because of the rather small number of participants in this field experiment. Future work should perhaps concentrate on this aspect and tap into to existing organisational recruitment processes. The effect of persuasive messages can be tested in online experiments, in which much less uncertainty in the execution of the experiment ("noise") is to be expected.

It was nevertheless possible to gain some insights into the interaction of individuals and organisations. Social relations will also be the focus of the next two chapters. Chapter 6 considers social relations in terms of social capital and trust. The question of whether trust leads to more social capital in the form of active participation in volunteer organisations will be tested with WVS data. Next, chapter 7 is concerned with social relations at the organisational level Organisational networks of third-sector organisations will be studied, and their effect on building social capital estimated.

Appendix Chapter 5

Table A5.1: List of Indicators

Variable	Description	Value Labels
Message	Type of message received	0= Control 1= Social 2= Protection 3= Enhancement 4= Values 5= Understanding 6= Career
Gender	Gender	1= Male, 2= Female
Work Status	Present work status	1= School Pupil, 2= Student, 3= Apprentice, 4= Employed, 5= Self-Employed, 6= Retired, 7= Unemployed, 8= Not working
Age Years	Age in years	
Age	Age categories	1= 16-25, 2= 26-35, 3= 36-45, 4= 46-55, 5= 56-65, 6= 66-75, 7= over 76
Income	Income in CHF	1= 0-15000, 2= 15001-30000, 3= 30001-45000, 4= 45001-60000, 5= 60001-75000, 6= 75001-90000, 7= 90001-110000, 8= 110001-130000, 9= 130001-150000, 10= over 150000
Training	Highest formal training	1= no formal education, 2= primary education, 3= secondary education, 4= on-job-training, 5= Apprentice- ship, 6= Further Education, 7= Trade College, 8= Prof. Baccal., 9= Baccal., 10= Higher Vocational College, 11= Vocational Diploma, 12= Higher Vocational Diploma, 13= Technical College, 14= University +
French Dummy	Dummy for French Region	0= German Language Region, 1= French Language Region
Organisation Selection	Motive Type according VFI	1= Social 2= Protection 3= Enhancement 4= Values 5= Understanding 6= Career
Past Volunteer Type	Type of past volunteering	1= sport, 2= arts, 3= education, 4= trade union, 5= political party, 6= environment, 7= charity, 8= humanitarian, 9= consumer, 10= faith-based, 11= other
Present Volunteer	Type of present volunteering	""

Type		
Present Volunteer	Present Volunteering	0= none, 1= present volunteering
Past Volunteer	Past Volunteering	0= none, 1= past volunteering
Volunteer Time	Hours spent volunteering per month	
Extra Time	Extra hours related to volunteering	
Volunteer Experience	Volunteer experience past or present	0= no experience, 1= experience
Match Message	Matching Message with Motive Type (Selection)	0=control group, 1= no match, 3= match
Match Incentive	Matching Incentive with Motive Type (Selection)	0=control group, 1= no match, 3= match
At_work	7 items re present Volunteer work	mean
Satisfaction	5 items re satisfaction with volunteer work	mean
Recruitment	5 items re recruitment process	mean
Contact	5 items re contact with organisation	mean
O_Protection	Open Question Motives	Rank Order 3-1, 0
O_Career	Open Question Motives	Rank Order 3 -1, 0
O_ Social	Open Question Motives	Rank Order 3 -1, 0
O_Understanding	Open Question Motives	Rank Order 3 -1, 0
O_Enhancement	Open Question Motives	Rank Order 3 -1, 0
O_Values	Open Question Motives	Rank Order 3-1, 0

Table A5.2: Descriptive Statistics of Indicators

Variable	N	Mode	Mean	Median	Min	Max	SD	Skew	Kurt.
Message	119	5		3	0	6	2.039	-0.142	1.711
Sex	119	2		2	1	2	0.494	-0.359	1.129
Work Status	117	4		4	1	8	1.549	0.319	2.736
			49.66						
Age Years	56		1	47	18	80	14.273	0.122	2.272
Age	59	3		4	1	7	1.568	0.184	2.168
Income	52	6		5	1	10	2.310	0.203	2.391
Training	59	3		8	3	14	3.779	0.261	1.465
French Dummy	119	0		0	0	1	0.409	1.423	3.026
Organisation	119	1		5	1	15	4.017	0.448	1.999
Selection	59	3		3	1	6	1.513	0.122	2.128
Past Volunteer Type	30	6/ 7		8	1	11	2.726	-0.766	3.146
Present Volunteer Type	25	11		11	1	11	3.224	-1.221	3.253
Present Volunteer	59	0		0	0	1	0.498	0.308	1.095
Past Volunteer	59	1		1	0	1	0.504	-0.034	1.001
Volunteer Time	8		8.063	6	3.5	15	4.427	0.637	1.841
Extra Time	7		1.143	1	0	3	1.215	0.320	1.614
Volunteer Experience	59	0		0	0	1	0.465	0.817	1.667
Match Message	59	1		1.0	0	3	0.937	0.997	3.204
Match Incentive	19	1		1	0	3	1.026	1.057	3.117
At_work	14	6	4.684	4.8	2.7	6	1.170	-0.405	1.819
Satisfaction	11	6	5.509	5.6	3.8	6	0.647	-1.798	5.536
Recruitment	14	5	5.100	5.2	3.6	6	0.726	-0.720	2.622
Contact	13	6	5.169	5.6	3.6	6	0.945	-0.651	1.891
O_Protection	56	0	0.696	0	0	3	1.143	1.278	2.941
O_Career	56	0	0.107	0	0	2	0.454	3.965	16.723
O_ Social	56	0	0.464	0	0	3	0.972	1.841	4.802
O_Understanding	56	0	0.732	0	0	3	1.036	1.049	2.661
O_Enhancement	56	0	1.357	1	0	3	1.103	0.162	1.717
O_Values	56	3	1.875	2.5	0	3	1.294	-0.528	1.539

Chapter 6

Social Capital as Social Relations

6.1 Introduction

The previous chapters tested the assumption that volunteering - which is a form of social capital - serves particular attitude functions, i.e. motives, and that matching motives and affective stimuli increases the likelihood of volunteer action being pursued. While chapter 2 examined the role of values in active membership of volunteer organisations, chapters 3 to 5 considered a more complex model of values, socialisation and motives. However, the most frequently cited source of social capital, trust, has not been discussed so far. Trust does not feature in the values or motivation literature as a determinant of social capital, except in some cases as a personal trait (John and Srivastava 1999). In the social capital literature, however, shared norms are discussed as a key ingredient in building trust, but no link is made to the values literature. In structural models of social interaction, on the other hand (chapter 7), trust re-emerges as a product of social interactions and is linked to shared norms of reciprocity. This chapter forms a link between values and structure in the context of social capital by arguing that depending on the level and the nature of social interactions, it is personal values, not levels of trust, that influence prosocial behaviour.

The most prominent strand of recent social capital literature, spearheaded by Fukuyama (1995) and Putnam (1993), attributed trust a leading role in the creation of social capital. The basic assumption is that more trustful people or societies create more social capital and furthermore, that trust is beneficial for a number of other societal outcomes, such as democracy. These far-reaching claims have been challenged by a number of authors on methodological and empirical grounds, however, and there have been calls to re-examine the theoretical foundations of social capital in order to separate input from outcome (e.g. Portes 1998; Schmid 2002). In most of the social capital literature, values are seen as social norms that, if commonly shared, create trust. Individual motivation, however, constitutes only part of this theory in connection with rational choice

models of social relations (e.g. Hardin 1993). There is therefore a manifest need to consolidate these different strands of theories regarding the sources of civic participation and to test the various stipulated determinants empirically. In this chapter I will introduce the trust concept into the values discussion and test trust variables in the WVS dataset against the value items from chapter 2.

It is expected that values, rather than trust, influence prosocial behaviour. Active membership of nonprofit organisations is considered here to be individual-level behaviour that is influenced by personal values, rather than a form of cooperation. The latter can be found in instances of group interactions, such as resource networks (chapter 7). The results from chapter 2 indicate that the self-transcendence dimension of personal values is relevant for active membership of service organisations. This dimension is made up of Benevolence and Universalism values on the self-transcendence pole and the Power and Achievement values on the self-enhancement pole. The analysis of separate value items will allow conclusions to be drawn about which personal value is decisive for active membership. Consequently, we can expect these two values in particular to influence trust levels for generalised trust, i.e. trust toward people outside the family, as these values will be shared by individuals who volunteer for people outside the family. At the same time, this may be the explanation for the significance of generalized trust for social capital, as has been posited by some authors in this literature. To put it differently, other-oriented values are required to create generalised trust. In turn, other-oriented values are formed by an interaction of cultural values and socialisation and they influence behaviour. Thus generalised trust may be endogenous to this process, rather than an antecedent of social capital. Situational trust created by social interaction in instances of cooperation has been linked with norms of reciprocity and will be discussed in chapter 7.

This chapter will begin by discussing the various main theoretical strands of the social capital literature, including a critique of the Putnam school of social capital and the concept of trust as part of and as a determinant of social capital. The relationship between values and trust, however, has received little attention by the social capital literature - or in the personal and cultural value literature - and we will have to rely on the implications from different strands of theory to discuss that relationship. It will then be shown that so far, trust has not been successfully linked to volunteering. The next section first looks at the relationship between values and trust and then undertakes a re-analysis of WVS data (Chapter 2) including trust variables. Two main results emerge from this analysis. First, it is confirmed that there is no link between trust and volunteering, but that there is strong evidence of the role of personal values in determining active participation. Second, other-oriented values can be linked to trust, particularly to generalised trust.

6.2 The Relationship between Trust, Values and Social Capital

Social capital is many things to many people and has therefore also been defined in various ways (see Portes 1998; Bankston and Zhou 2002). At the very minimum, it involves social relations and some manner of return from these. This return can benefit an individual or a group. At both levels, returns can be instrumental or expressive (Lin 2001). Therefore, participation in a particular association could lead to a better job, or express a particular position. For this interpretation of social capital, social relations produce (potential) benefits that would otherwise not exist (Bourdieu 1986). A second group of social capital scholars include trust in the social capital equation (e.g. Hardin 1993; Fukuyama 1996; Uslaner 2000; Putnam 2000; Newton 2001). This work will argue that the basic definition of social capital as social interactions with some (potential return) is most useful for the study of volunteering as it is most closely linked with motivational approaches to prosocial action. Despite the conceptual differences – and we will see that they are crucial to

the understanding of social capital – the importance of social capital has been universally acknowledged.

The benefits of social capital are thought to be manifold – from micro-level outcomes such as better school grades (De Graaf et al. 2000) or political integration (Eggert and Giugni 2010) to macro-level outcomes such as economic growth or democratic stability (e.g. Arrow 1972; Coleman 1988; Ostrom 1990; Fukuyama 1996; Dasgupta and Serageldin 2000). Although the idea of social interactions (particularly in associations) as schools of cooperation is far from new, the mechanisms involved, the direction of the effect and the role of institutions is disputed. An additional problem is posed by the various definitions and uses of the concept of trust (Barber 1983; Misztal 1996; Braithwaite and Levi 1998; Uslaner 2008). Three broad theoretical schools of social capital can be identified (Foley and Edwards 1999).

The first two theoretical strands – which have been identified as the Bourdieu (1986) and the Coleman (1988) approach to social capital – are incorporated in a broader theory of financial, human and social capital where each serves to produce goods and services to individuals and groups (Foley and Edwards 1999). Social capital consists of two components: the social relationships that give individuals access to resources and the extent of these resources (Portes 1998). For example, members of the Rotary Club may, through their relationships with other members, gain access to financial backers, receive investment tips, find a business partner etc. Thus, the two social capital components would be the relationships and the gains through these relationships, measured against the opportunities that they would have had they not been members.[80] For both authors social capital resides in repeated interactions and for both institutions can play a facilitating role in producing social capital. Trust and norms of reciprocity are endogenous to these relations. The differences in approaches lie mainly in the distinction between

[80] This is what Loury (1977: 176) calls the "social context".

potential resources as social capital in Bourdieu (1986) and the achieved resources as social capital in Coleman (1988), the normative implications and the extent of formalization. Coleman's structural theory of social interactions has an essentially rational choice approach underpinning it, which has been taken up by scholars interested in the role of strategic trust, as is the case in game theory, (Hardin 1993) or networks (Burt 1997).

The third strand – and the most widely followed of late – is the Putnam school of social capital. Here, social capital is defined as "…features of social organisations, such as networks, norms, and trust, that facilitate action and cooperation for mutual benefit" (Putnam 1993: 35). In this literature, social capital has been divided into a structural (networks and other repeated interactions such as volunteering) and an attitudinal (trust, norms of reciprocity) component (Hooghe and Stolle 2003). Many see these two components as inextricably linked in a "virtuous circle" (Putnam 1993). The mechanism involved in producing social capital is thought to be the production of civic attitudes (trust) through social contacts which then has a beneficial effect on civic engagement, stability of institutions and so forth (Putnam 2000). This type of social capital literature draws on early theorists such as Alexis de Tocqueville and J.S. Mills (for an overview see Newton 2001) but rejects the role of institutions in these early sources.[81]

In this literature, trust is both an essential ingredient for producing social capital and a key indicator (e.g. Putnam 2000; Dasgupta and Serageldin 2000; Freitag 2003; Rothstein and Uslaner 2005). Trust is thus linked to social capital, either as an antecedent (Uslaner 2000), as part of it (e.g. Fukuyama 1999; Putnam 2000; Gambetta 2000; Bowles and Gintis 2002; Freitag 2003; Hooghe and Stolle 2003) or as an outcome (Fukuyama 1996; Putnam 2000) of social capital. This interchangeability of cause and effect has been heavily criticised (Muller and

[81] The role of institutions in fostering civic values and promoting associations is stressed particularly in de Tocqueville's writings (1990).

Seligson 1994; Tarrow 1996; Jackman and Miller 1998; Portes 1998; Durlauf 2002; Bankston and Zhou 2002; Cook 2005).

At the same time, the empirical evidence for a causal link between trust and structural social capital, such as membership or volunteering is rather patchy (Newton 2001; Uslaner 2000; Glaeser et al. 2002; Durlauf 2002) and it is safe to say that further research is needed. However, there is strong evidence linking values to structural social capital (e.g. Clary et al. 1998; Dekker and Halman 2003; Welzel et al. 2005; Haski-Leventhal 2009; Kemmelmeier et al. 2006; Wilson 2000) and chapter 2 added to this discussion with empirical findings. Nevertheless, the relationship between trust, norms and values in the context of social capital is rather undertheorized.[82]

Uslaner (2002) or Fukuyama (1995), for example, argue that trust arises when moral values that expect honest reciprocal behaviour are shared. However, as was pointed out earlier, this type of trust is usually specific to certain interaction contexts and cannot be linked to generalised trust. Similarly, Rahn et al. (1998) find a value change to be responsible for a decline in trust. Others define trust simply as a result of updating information about previous social interactions (Hardin 1993). This latter, limited, view of behavioural antecedents seems insufficient for studying social capital as repeated interactions and the resulting source of benefits to individuals. An additional problem is posed by the normative bias of this literature. As Bankston and Zhou (2002: 287) point out*:* "Social capital theory, ..., envisages shared norms as part of the production of capital only insofar

[82] Penner et al. (2005: 382) point out an important difference between helping and cooperation. Helping involves individual or unilateral action, while cooperation often involves action within or between groups. One of the key differences in terms of individual-level and group-level mechanisms is the expectation of reciprocity, which involves trust. Thus trust is relevant in situations of interdependence, such as in relationships within resource-networks (chapter 7). Values, as has been shown in chapters 3-5, influence individual behaviour, such as helping or social volunteering, however. As social capital can involve both individual and group relations, trust can, but does not have to, be involved. Most social capital authors, despite aiming to explain individual-level action such as volunteering, discuss trust as an antecedent of social capital and in the context of shared norms/values (Welzel et al. 2005; Uslaner 2002; Newton 2007).

as the norms promote productive behavior." This is to say that shared norms can of course lead to outcomes that are not considered productive. Even though the Putnam school of social capital has been criticised on numerous accounts, it has the advantage of relying on straightforward concept operationalisation. Thus attitudinal components of social capital are often measured as levels of generalised trust, whereas structural social capital is measured as membership (of networks or organisations). The concept of potential benefits/resources (as suggested by Bourdieu), on the other hand, is rather problematic to define and the attempt to measure the effects of social capital is fraught with difficulties, as Portes (1998) pointed out. It therefore seems more worthwhile to concentrate on testing the testable, namely the antecedents of structural social capital. Based on the discussion above, it is suggested that personal values, rather than trust, are most useful in predicting prosocial behaviour. Active membership of nonprofit organisations can be considered an individual-level action and we would assume that personal values, rather than generalized trust, influence this particular behaviour. Moreover, it is expected that levels of trust are influenced by values because trust can develop from shared norms. The norms linked to prosocial behaviour are norms involving social responsibility (Batson 1998: 469), which are most closely linked to the Benevolence and Universalism value (Bardi and Schwartz 2001). Moreover, these latter two values are assumed to be linked to generalised trust in particular. Norms of reciprocity, however, develop from certain social interaction contexts (for example networks) and will be discussed in the following chapter. In the remainder of this chapter, the influence of trust, personal values and cultural values on active participation in voluntary organisations will be tested.

6.3 Antecedents of Structural Social Capital in Switzerland

6.3.1 Data and Measurements

In order to test the antecedents of structural social capital in Switzerland a supplementary analysis to chapter 2 is undertaken. The variables used are identical to those in chapter 2 (see appendix A2.1) with two exceptions: To all models trust variables found in the 2007 wave of the WVS Switzerland are added. Six trust variables were included in the questionnaire: trust in family members; trust in neighbours; trust in acquaintances; trust in strangers; trust in people from other religions, and trust in people with other nationalities. The items are (re)coded from 1 (do not trust at all) to 4 (trust completely) and answer the question of how much the respondent trusts a person from these groups There are two types of trust to be found among the six trust items. Items 1 to 3 can be described as particularised trust, i.e. trust in people we know. The fourth item, trust in strangers, measures the category generalised trust. The last two items are a bounded form of generalised trust, i.e. reduced to cultural in- or out-groups. The social capital literature posits that it is the last two types of trusters that are most involved in the creation of social capital (Uslaner 2002).

The second addition to the models in chapter 2 is the inclusion of separate values items (Schwartz 1994) in order to assess the effect of the individual items on participation. Therefore, personal values are measured either with two constructed personal values variables (measuring the self-transcendence/self-enhancement and conservation/openness to change dimensions of personal values) or the ten individual values items. The individual values items are coded from 1 to 6 ("not like me at all" to "very much like me"). Moreover, as was discussed in chapter 2, individual religiosity measures may indicate some measure of personal values.

Cultural values, on the other hand, are measured with the two constructed cultural values variables, for the cultural self-transcendence/self-enhancement and conservation/openness to change dimensions. Furthermore, the Catholic value region dummy is used as before in order to account for differences across

denominational value regions (see discussion chapter 2). All data are from the 2007 WVS for Switzerland.

6.4 Results and Analysis

6.4.1 Antecedents of Trust

In order to gauge the relationship between values, trust and structural social capital, I will first look at the influence of the cultural and personal value items on the six trust items in the WVS 2007. It is assumed that levels of trust are influenced by values as - according to sociological theory - trust develops from shared norms. More specifically, other-oriented values (Benevolence and Universalism) are thought to create generalised trust. As we have seen, norms are not only influenced by values, but can develop in certain interaction contexts. These norms of reciprocity will be discussed in chapter 7, however. We have three different types of trust in the survey, particularised trust (trust in people we know), generalised trust (trust in strangers) and bounded generalised trust (trust in strangers from certain out-groups).

To test the relationship between values and trust, I will estimate predictors of trust in a factorial ordered logit logistic regression. The results are found in table A6.1 in the Appendix. The regression analysis shows two main results for the influence of personal values on trust.[83] First, from the cut-points in table A6.1 it is apparent that higher levels of personal values generally lead to higher levels of trust. Second, factorised ordered regression and subsequent Wald tests for factor groups (2-6) show that for all types of trust, other-oriented values - either Benevolence or Universalism - are relevant. Benevolence values are pertinent for "trust in family" ($p = 0.024$), "trust in acquaintances" ($p = 0.005$), "trust in strangers" ($p = 0.026$)

[83] When estimating the reverse order, i.e. the influence of trust on values, there is little statistical significance to be found and model fit is considerably lower.

and "trust in other nationalities" (p= 0.000). Universalism, therefore, is of significance for "trust in neighbours" (p= 0.004) and "trust in people with other religions" (P= 0.003). The other strong influence on "trust in family", however, is the Achievement value (0.024), thus indicating that this group contains two opposite value groups: self-transcendence and self-enhancement values at the same time. This conflict is only present in this value category. All other categories are determined by values from other different value dimensions, i.e. either self-transcendence/self-enhancement or conservation/openness to change. Moreover, individuals with strong Security values do not trust in strangers or acquaintances, which in itself is not particularly surprising. Moreover, Tradition values are only linked to one type of particularised trust, "trust in neighbours" (p= 0.031), perhaps showing an underlying rural/urban divide. It can thus be said that certain types of values influence individual levels of trust. Both other-oriented values that are linked to social responsibility norms, Benevolence and Universalism, are influential for all types of trust, thus confirming our working hypothesis of the link between other-oriented values and trust.

As a next step, the effect of cultural values on trust is estimated (Table 6.1). Here, a strong negative influence ($p<0.001$) of the conservation/openness-to change variable can be found on generalised trust (strangers, other religions and other nationalities). Similarly, a positive influence of the self-transcendence/self-enhancement variable can be found on bounded generalised trust ($p<0.000$). Thus conservative cultural values (values related to society as a whole) negatively influence generalised trust, while self-transcendence values affect it positively. These much stronger results may be due to the level at which these types of trust and values are situated. Both refer to the wider society, rather than the individual level.

Table 6.1 Antecedents of Trust: Cultural Values, Ordered Logit Regression, Unstandardised Coefficients*

	Trust family	Trust neighbours	Trust acquaintances	Trust strangers	Trust o. religion	Trust o. nation.
Conservation/Openness to Change	-0.051	-0.013	-0.094*	-0.184***	-0.166***	-0.178***
	(0.062)	(0.053)	(0.052)	(0.050)	(0.058)	(0.054)
Self-Transc./Self-Enhancement	0.002	0.060	-0.006	0.091*	0.315***	0.326***
	(0.060)	(0.051)	(0.051)	(0.050)	(0.058)	(0.061)
Predominantly Catholic	-0.351*	-0.012	-0.451***	-0.032	0.214	0.124
	(0.194)	(0.170)	(0.173)	(0.163)	(0.174)	(0.182)
cut1 _cons	-6.671***	-3.958***	-5.921***	-2.840***	-2.715***	-3.238***
	(0.725)	(0.377)	(0.536)	(0.315)	(0.378)	(0.341)
cut2 _cons	-4.774***	-1.822***	-3.870***	-0.387	-0.335	-0.490
	(0.452)	(0.316)	(0.337)	(0.304)	(0.342)	(0.342)
cut3 _cons	-1.766***	1.567***	0.204	4.197***	3.847***	3.814***
	(0.361)	(0.317)	(0.311)	(0.405)	(0.380)	(0.395)
N	1025.000	1017.000	1024.000	1015.000	968.000	981.000

*Standard errors in parentheses. Significance levels: * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

The value region proves to be negatively linked to particularised trust. This is, in fact, linked to the influence of the "no predominant denomination" region, which shows somewhat higher levels of particularised trust. Thus, so far, we have been able to establish a link between other-oriented personal values and all types of trust. Even more unambiguous is the link between self-transcendence cultural values and generalised trust. This can lead to a preliminary conclusion that shared values can indeed create trust. In the next section, it will be shown that active membership of organisations is primarily determined by personal values, and not by trust.

6.4.2 Antecedents of Active Membership of Voluntary Organisations

In order to test for differences between values and trust variables, I repeat the binary logit models for active membership of service organisations from chapter 2, including the six trust variables.[84] Service organisations include volunteering in cultural, educational, environmental, faith-based or charity organisations. The results are shown in table 6.2.[85] Model 1 comprises the six trust variables only and shows positive effects of trust in family and trust in strangers, which as we saw in the previous section, are determined by Benevolence values. When cultural values and control variables are added (model 2), the significance of the trust in strangers variable disappears.[86] Of the control variables, women and religiosity have a significant positive influence on active participation. This remains the same for all subsequent models, except for model 5, where alternative religiosity variables are used (c.f. chapter 2). The cultural values variables have no significant effect in any of the models for active participation.

In a next step, the (constructed) personal values variables are added to the model (model 3). The self-transcendence/self-enhancement variable proves to have a significant positive influence on active participation. Thus, individuals with stronger values on the self-transcendence axis are more likely to participate in service organisations.

[84] Underlying interval scale is assumed for trust and values variables. For both the values and the trust items, the lowest categories contain very few observations. In factorial logistic regression analysis, this can lead to perfect predictions of a range of factors, which are consequently dropped from the analysis (in Stata). This rather distorts the effects of individual factors and leads to high standard errors in the model. Moreover, the full factorial model 5 contains 89 parameters and 676 observations, making prediction rather difficult. I therefore choose efficiency over possible bias in this instance.

[85] Table A6.2 in the appendix shows multicollinearity tests for model 5. Model 4 (simple religiosity variable) was tested as well, revealing no multicollinearity in the model either.

[86] This is caused by the control variables as the addition of the cultural values variables does not change the significance of trust variables (not shown). In particular, adding of the female dummy decreased the significance of the trust in strangers variable.

Table 6.2: Determinants of Active Membership of Organisations[a] 2007 Binary Logit Regression, Unstandardised Coefficients*

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
Trust_family	0.302*	0.421*	0.361	0.273	0.336
	(0.170)	(0.218)	(0.226)	(0.234)	(0.254)
Trust_neighbours	0.065	0.031	0.022	0.041	-0.087
	(0.134)	(0.167)	(0.170)	(0.168)	(0.183)
Trust_acquaintances	0.030	0.182	0.141	0.075	0.219
	(0.149)	(0.182)	(0.184)	(0.190)	(0.204)
Trust_strangers	0.275**	0.237	0.206	0.173	0.199
	(0.134)	(0.168)	(0.173)	(0.173)	(0.194)
Trust_other_religions	0.236	0.279	0.298	0.364	0.365
	(0.182)	(0.245)	(0.249)	(0.240)	(0.261)
Trust_other_nationalities	0.208	0.154	0.131	0.115	0.046
	(0.198)	(0.271)	(0.273)	(0.269)	(0.295)
Cultural Values					
Self-Transcendence/Self-Enhancem.		-0.017	-0.029	-0.024	-0.008
		(0.064)	(0.064)	(0.067)	(0.072)
Conservation/Openness to Change		-0.018	-0.023	-0.062	-0.056
		(0.064)	(0.067)	(0.069)	(0.074)
Personal Values					
Self-Transcendence/Self-Enhancem.			0.821**		
			(0.385)		
Conservation/Openness to Change			0.320		
			(0.355)		
Income 3250-5250 Fr.		-0.077	-0.034	-0.033	0.079
		(0.353)	(0.354)	(0.362)	(0.404)
Income 5250-7250 Fr.		0.021	0.006	0.073	0.197
		(0.339)	(0.340)	(0.352)	(0.384)
Income 7250-9250 Fr.		0.123	0.178	0.195	0.276
		(0.350)	(0.350)	(0.360)	(0.392)
Income 9250-11250 Fr.		0.344	0.382	0.431	0.514
		(0.364)	(0.363)	(0.371)	(0.404)
Income Over 11250 Fr		0.269	0.377	0.404	0.557
		(0.395)	(0.395)	(0.398)	(0.423)
Compulsory Secondary		0.584	0.716	1.051	0.588
		(1.710)	(1.600)	(1.723)	(2.024)
Apprenticeship		0.954	1.065	1.518	0.998
		(1.668)	(1.557)	(1.676)	(1.976)
High School/Baccalaureate		1.812	1.898	2.493	1.885
		(1.711)	(1.600)	(1.718)	(2.016)
Higher Vocational Training		0.576	0.710	1.057	0.591
		(1.686)	(1.573)	(1.689)	(1.982)
Higher Tech College		1.193	1.335	1.764	1.128
		(1.671)	(1.560)	(1.680)	(1.977)

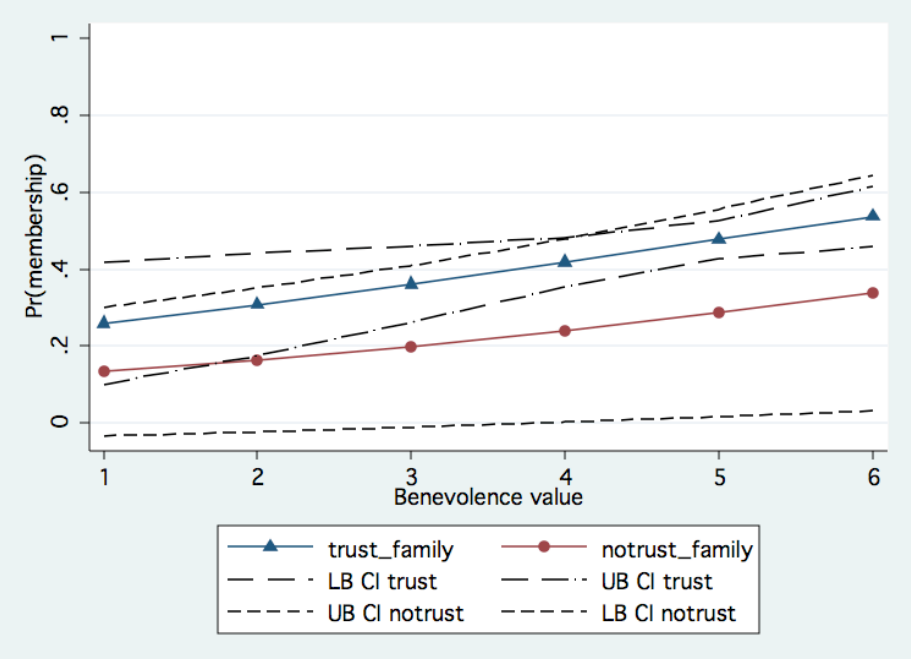
University		1.098	1.259	1.672	1.242
		(1.678)	(1.566)	(1.682)	(1.979)
Female		0.348*	0.254	0.218	0.383*
		(0.182)	(0.185)	(0.197)	(0.207)
Age		0.012*	0.009	0.010	0.009
		(0.006)	(0.007)	(0.007)	(0.007)
Predom. Catholic Region		0.049	0.005	-0.013	-0.150
		(0.214)	(0.217)	(0.222)	(0.241)
Religiosity		0.923***	0.884***	0.752***	
		(0.198)	(0.200)	(0.211)	
Personal Values separate					
Self-Direction				0.029	0.063
				(0.090)	(0.101)
Power				-0.203**	-0.212**
				(0.096)	(0.102)
Security				-0.067	-0.068
				(0.084)	(0.093)
Hedonism				-0.025	0.039
				(0.080)	(0.085)
Benevolence				0.239**	0.218*
				(0.106)	(0.116)
Achievement				0.008	0.038
				(0.077)	(0.081)
Stimulation				0.006	0.049
				(0.079)	(0.085)
Conformity				-0.015	-0.004
				(0.073)	(0.080)
Universalism				-0.082	-0.049
				(0.094)	(0.104)
Tradition				0.230***	0.093
				(0.072)	(0.078)
Practising Christian					2.489***
					(0.331)
Uncommitted Christian					0.917***
					(0.307)
Believe w/o Belonging					0.582**
					(0.287)
Post-Christian					0.455
					(0.400)
Constant	-3.629***	-6.729***	-6.376***	-6.876***	-7.343***
	(0.792)	(2.057)	(1.956)	(2.202)	(2.547)
N	964.000	706.000	700.000	700.000	676.000

[α] Membership of organisations in the area of culture, environment, education, church and charity.
* Standard errors in parentheses. Reference Categories: <3250 Fr., No formal schooling, Male, Region with no predominant Religion, Non-Religious/Atheist, Significance levels: * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

Moreover, none of the trust values have a significant influence on participation anymore. For the next model (model 4), the individual personal values items are used instead of the composite measure in model 3. Of the personal values, Tradition and Benevolence show the strongest positive influence on active participation. Power, on the other hand, has a negative influence. This latter result may be due to the positive cases rather than the negative ones as fewer respondents chose the lowest category (skewness -.424).
Again, none of the trust variables achieve statistical significance but their coefficients remain positive. In order to illustrate the joint effect of trust and values on active membership, we can look at the predicted probabilities of these variables.

The effect of the two trust variables that turned out to have the most substantial effect in our models, "trust in family" and "trust in strangers" can be illustrated as dependent on Benevolence values in figures 6.1 and 6.2 below.

Figure 6.1: Predicted Probabilities Trust in Family

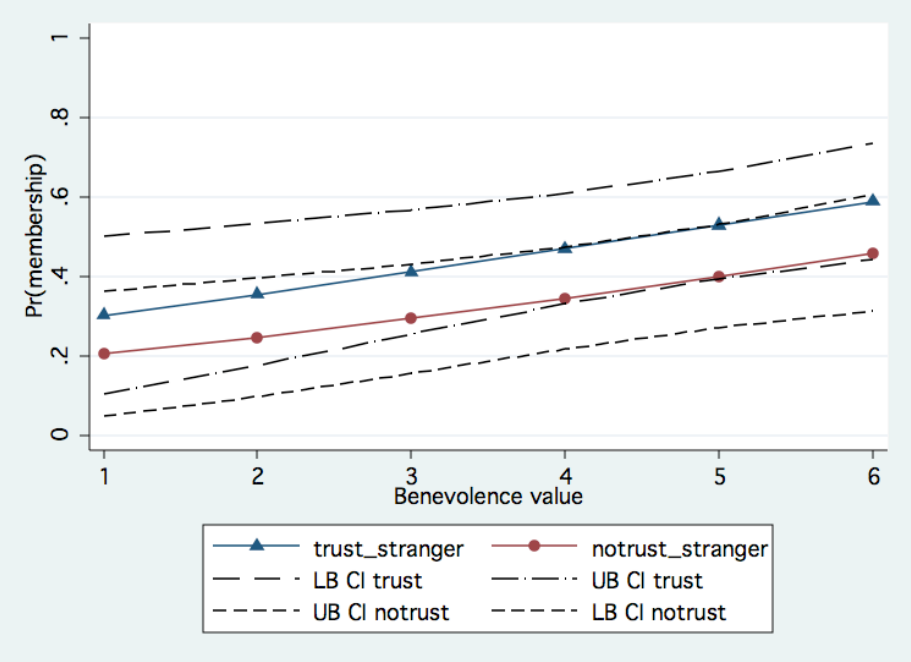


In Figure 6.1 we can see that with increasing levels of Benevolence values, the probability of "trust in family" influencing participation increases slightly (by about

.4). However, the differences between trust (category 4) and no trust (category 1) in the family is rather small, with a difference of approx. 0.1, thus showing a very small influence of this trust variable altogether. The confidence interval for no-trust, as we can see, is very wide, although not permitting us to draw any firm conclusions.

For the "trust in strangers" variable, the effect is very similar, but even smaller (Figure 6.2)

Figure 6.2: Predicted Probabilities Trust in Strangers



In both cases, we therefore find little influence of the trust variables on active membership but a positive (but small) effect of Benevolence on trust in the context of active membership.

The effect of the Tradition value on participation, on the other hand, is likely to be due to the active participation in faith-based organisations. In order to test this, I ran the full model for the active membership variable vol3, which excludes faith-based organisations (results not shown). Taking away faith-based organisations,

one loses half of the observations straight away, however, as a considerable part of active membership of service organisations is in faith-based organisations. This leaves us with relatively few cases, compared to the main participation variable. There is still a (statistically) significant positive effect of Benevolence and a negative effect of Power, but the Tradition item becomes insignificant. Thus so far, the personal values related to Benevolence prove to be most influential in determining active participation in service organisations.[87]

Thus, in models 3 and 4, personal values clearly prove to be influential for active membership of service organisations, while no cultural values variables reached statistical significance. Moreover, it can be argued that religiosity is a self-transcendence value (cf. Saroglou 2004) to the extent that believing in a higher entity involves self-transcendence. Models 2 to 4 therefore contain an additional significant personal values indicator. As was discussed in chapter 2, the religiosity variable used in models 2 to 4 contains the question of whether a person considers himself/herself religious. For the 2007 wave, however, we have a different measure of religiosity at our disposal, which distinguishes between organisational and belief dimensions of religiosity (Nicolet and Tresch 2010). In model 5, the previously used religiosity variable is replaced with the new religiosity variables.

The effect on the personal values indicators shows, that the organisational element of religiosity (i.e. churchgoing) depends on Tradition values. They now fail to reach statistical significance. Power and Benevolence values, on the other hand, remain strong predictors of active participation in service organisations. Of the new religiosity variables, three prove to be influential: practising Christian, uncommitted Christian and believing without belonging. It becomes evident that the "God is

[87] In a model for active participation organisations without service or solidary orientation (which leaves sport clubs, labour unions, political parties, professional organisations and consumer organisations), the Achievement and Tradition personal values were found to be most influential. Benevolence, on the other hand, had no significant effect. Moreover, particularised trust remained of some significance for this behaviour.

important" component of the indicators is driving the result, which would confirm the self-transcendence hypothesis of personal values and religiosity.

The results of all five models thus confirm that the strength of personal values lies behind the motivation for active participation in service organisations. Both trust and cultural values remained insignificant in this context. Trust, on the other hand, is linked to other-oriented values.

6.5 Conclusion

The aim of this chapter was to test the social capital hypothesis that (generalised) trust creates social capital (Uslaner 2002). This claim could not be substantiated in the context of active participation in service organisations. In this type of organisation, personal helping motivation is most relevant, while wanting to be rich is something of a hindrance to participation in such organisations. It can thus be concluded that it is indeed values, and not trust, that determine prosocial behaviour of this kind.

The importance of personal values could be confirmed as composite measures, as separate value items as well as religiosity. Cultural values, on the other hand, play no significant role in prosocial behaviour, either as composite measures of societal values, or as denominational values regions. Cultural values do, however, shape trust.

Other-oriented values, Benevolence and Universalism in the Schwartz (1994) typology, can be linked to trust in general and generalised trust in particular. We can thus conclude that generalised trust is endogenous to the process of value formation through the interaction of cultural values, personal experience and socialisation. Thus, the influence of trust on structural social capital formation, measured as active participation, is an indirect one.

Individuals who participate in volunteer organisations may, in fact, build trust towards certain out-groups. It is arguable that social capital should be considered as social relations that create a benefit for individuals or groups (material or immaterial). The antecedents of social capital, as individual participation, may be found in the personal values and motivation structure of individuals. The next chapter will focus on social relations in terms of social networks and the effects thereof on the creation of social capital. For this purpose, I will move up one level of analysis, from the individual level to the level of third-sector organisations.

Appendix Chapter 6

Table A6.1: Determinants of Trust 2007, Ordered Logistic Regression, Unstandardised Coefficients*

	Trust Family	Trust Neighbours	Trust Acquaintances	Trust Strangers	Trust other Religion	Trust other National.
Personal Values						
Self-Direction						
2	0.842	-2.304**	0.142	2.637***	2.494*	2.695***
	(1.304)	(1.053)	(1.521)	(0.968)	(1.317)	(0.847)
3	1.205	-2.077**	0.167	2.821***	2.392*	2.466***
	(1.249)	(0.998)	(1.438)	(0.933)	(1.232)	(0.645)
4	1.409	-2.114**	0.334	3.018***	2.425**	2.188***
	(1.234)	(0.989)	(1.432)	(0.924)	(1.220)	(0.628)
5	1.254	-1.860*	0.604	3.164***	2.523**	2.401***
	(1.234)	(0.992)	(1.432)	(0.926)	(1.226)	(0.643)
6	0.977	-2.081**	0.579	3.070***	2.807**	2.601***
Power	(1.247)	(1.005)	(1.442)	(0.941)	(1.237)	(0.669)
2	0.134	-0.166	0.403**	0.271	0.265	0.114
	(0.228)	(0.192)	(0.188)	(0.185)	(0.207)	(0.218)
3	0.503	-0.031	0.147	-0.131	-0.399	-0.394
	(0.307)	(0.250)	(0.232)	(0.227)	(0.259)	(0.275)
4	0.170	0.198	-0.078	-0.095	-0.323	-0.448
	(0.381)	(0.266)	(0.313)	(0.297)	(0.293)	(0.312)
5	0.427	0.640	-0.037	-0.693	0.189	-0.168
	(0.732)	(0.447)	(0.549)	(0.478)	(0.551)	(0.558)
6	-0.124	-1.256	0.859	-0.514	0.283	-0.368
Security	(0.768)	(0.972)	(0.768)	(0.723)	(1.025)	(0.680)
2	0.324	-0.112	-0.168	0.135	0.602*	0.164
	(0.369)	(0.274)	(0.279)	(0.312)	(0.330)	(0.319)
3	-0.192	-0.406	-0.254	-0.550*	0.143	-0.654**
	(0.377)	(0.284)	(0.286)	(0.323)	(0.343)	(0.327)
4	-0.242	-0.368	-0.781**	-0.704**	-0.024	-0.620*
	(0.394)	(0.272)	(0.309)	(0.330)	(0.347)	(0.338)
5	-0.374	-0.487	-0.491	-0.431	-0.196	-0.808**
	(0.418)	(0.309)	(0.312)	(0.335)	(0.350)	(0.344)
6	-0.440	-0.176	-0.498	-0.881**	0.064	-0.506
Hedonism	(0.476)	(0.396)	(0.395)	(0.441)	(0.506)	(0.519)
2	-0.765	-1.317**	0.099	0.113	-0.416	-0.644
	(0.732)	(0.600)	(1.013)	(0.672)	(0.572)	(0.640)
3	-0.216	-0.613	0.608	0.593	-0.109	-0.059
	(0.710)	(0.536)	(0.975)	(0.633)	(0.555)	(0.588)
4	-0.119	-1.015*	0.250	0.340	-0.204	-0.023
	(0.701)	(0.532)	(0.967)	(0.624)	(0.536)	(0.575)
5	0.053	-1.183**	0.343	0.395	-0.343	-0.167
	(0.707)	(0.538)	(0.968)	(0.625)	(0.540)	(0.577)
6	0.295	-1.263**	0.620	-0.032	-0.564	-0.340
Benevolence	(0.730)	(0.554)	(0.979)	(0.636)	(0.558)	(0.588)
2	-0.270	-0.681	-1.896	0.263	0.891	1.360
	(1.104)	(1.829)	(1.219)	(1.052)	(1.269)	(0.868)

3	0.661	-0.752	-0.768	0.384	1.723*	3.064***
	(0.977)	(1.650)	(0.853)	(0.933)	(1.042)	(0.594)
4	1.201	-0.706	-0.361	0.552	1.434	2.833***
	(0.949)	(1.639)	(0.820)	(0.906)	(1.010)	(0.537)
5	1.407	-0.680	-0.021	0.990	1.692*	2.934***
	(0.945)	(1.632)	(0.813)	(0.903)	(1.008)	(0.542)
6	1.343	-0.363	0.371	1.114	1.843*	3.292***
Achievement	(0.947)	(1.644)	(0.820)	(0.903)	(1.026)	(0.572)
2	1.311***	-0.318	0.016	-0.027	-0.143	0.345
	(0.432)	(0.417)	(0.355)	(0.352)	(0.378)	(0.393)
3	0.507	-0.156	-0.240	0.085	-0.050	0.421
	(0.371)	(0.396)	(0.340)	(0.304)	(0.343)	(0.354)
4	0.651*	-0.549	-0.454	-0.307	-0.706**	-0.226
	(0.371)	(0.386)	(0.339)	(0.307)	(0.339)	(0.346)
5	1.073***	-0.276	-0.290	-0.002	-0.461	-0.038
	(0.406)	(0.403)	(0.348)	(0.330)	(0.358)	(0.372)
6	0.477	-0.805	-0.210	-0.161	-0.691	-0.150
Stimulation	(0.496)	(0.497)	(0.418)	(0.405)	(0.491)	(0.484)
2	0.318	-0.010	-0.186	0.007	0.381	0.079
	(0.279)	(0.222)	(0.224)	(0.208)	(0.236)	(0.245)
3	-0.391	0.019	-0.422*	0.056	0.060	0.015
	(0.305)	(0.233)	(0.254)	(0.244)	(0.260)	(0.252)
4	-0.325	-0.414*	-0.028	-0.360	-0.130	-0.433
	(0.341)	(0.232)	(0.255)	(0.263)	(0.274)	(0.277)
5	-0.462	-0.113	-0.577*	0.131	0.392	0.262
	(0.381)	(0.301)	(0.323)	(0.314)	(0.345)	(0.330)
6	-1.209**	-0.276	-0.287	-0.597	0.115	-0.469
Conformity	(0.505)	(0.589)	(0.430)	(0.377)	(0.550)	(0.545)
2	0.424	-0.049	-0.282	-0.865**	-0.973**	-1.054**
	(0.470)	(0.442)	(0.368)	(0.417)	(0.467)	(0.458)
3	-0.048	-0.201	-0.317	-0.814**	-0.958**	-1.027**
	(0.438)	(0.427)	(0.368)	(0.405)	(0.473)	(0.459)
4	0.501	-0.054	-0.099	-0.552	-0.964**	-1.068**
	(0.426)	(0.434)	(0.363)	(0.410)	(0.473)	(0.462)
5	0.760*	0.258	0.344	-0.451	-0.804*	-0.691
	(0.414)	(0.421)	(0.363)	(0.412)	(0.485)	(0.470)
6	0.388	0.142	-0.199	-0.928**	-1.193**	-1.092**
Universalism	(0.433)	(0.437)	(0.382)	(0.424)	(0.507)	(0.498)
2	0.458	2.754***	-0.536	1.825	4.868***	1.287
	(1.201)	(0.949)	(1.676)	(1.143)	(1.795)	(0.945)
3	0.869	2.106***	-0.094	1.764	4.729***	0.656
	(1.064)	(0.717)	(1.655)	(1.074)	(1.718)	(0.755)
4	0.665	2.183***	-0.145	2.170**	4.808***	0.851
	(1.033)	(0.700)	(1.654)	(1.073)	(1.715)	(0.726)
5	0.284	2.317***	-0.502	2.124**	4.714***	1.002
	(1.027)	(0.691)	(1.648)	(1.066)	(1.710)	(0.725)
6	0.997	2.677***	0.109	2.383**	5.393***	1.205
Tradition	(1.036)	(0.703)	(1.649)	(1.067)	(1.712)	(0.735)
2	0.396	0.044	-0.296	0.534	0.209	-0.069
	(0.376)	(0.420)	(0.347)	(0.351)	(0.447)	(0.468)
3	0.171	0.341	-0.421	0.694**	0.157	-0.492
	(0.351)	(0.381)	(0.347)	(0.337)	(0.417)	(0.439)

4	0.623*	0.599	0.111	0.676**	0.288	-0.208
	(0.377)	(0.383)	(0.337)	(0.339)	(0.421)	(0.438)
5	0.402	0.757**	-0.008	0.508	-0.088	-0.457
	(0.369)	(0.379)	(0.362)	(0.346)	(0.433)	(0.459)
6	0.796*	0.812*	-0.332	0.203	0.021	-0.518
	(0.417)	(0.421)	(0.403)	(0.386)	(0.505)	(0.521)
cut1	-2.802	-5.911***	-6.111**	2.969*	4.453*	0.579
	(2.184)	(2.145)	(2.576)	(1.765)	(2.358)	(1.193)
cut2	-0.280	-3.713*	-4.043	5.592***	6.882***	3.358***
	(2.021)	(2.141)	(2.547)	(1.776)	(2.387)	(1.239)
cut3	2.820	-0.035	0.327	10.316***	11.165***	7.740***
	(2.039)	(2.137)	(2.520)	(1.798)	(2.398)	(1.257)
N	1022.000	1014.000	1020.000	1010.000	963.000	976.000

*Standard errors in parentheses. Reference Category 1 "not at all like me". Significance levels: * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

Table A6.2: Multicollinearity Test for Variables Model 5

Variable	VIF	Sqrd. VIF	Tolerance	R-Squared
Trust family	1.14	1.07	0.8801	0.1199
Trust neighbours	1.36	1.17	0.7354	0.2646
Trust acquaintances	1.33	1.15	0.7540	0.2460
Trust strangers	1.56	1.25	0.6392	0.3608
Trust other Religions	2.55	1.60	0.3921	0.6079
Trust other Nationals	2.46	1.57	0.4070	0.5930
Self-Direction	1.20	1.10	0.8314	0.1686
Power	1.27	1.13	0.7856	0.2144
Security	1.47	1.21	0.6819	0.3181
Hedonism	1.27	1.13	0.7884	0.2116
Benevolence	1.34	1.16	0.7455	0.2545
Achievement	1.29	1.14	0.7748	0.2252
Stimulation	1.45	1.20	0.6918	0.3082
Conformity	1.34	1.16	0.7438	0.2562
Universalism	1.24	1.11	0.8095	0.1905
Tradition	1.52	1.23	0.6576	0.3424
Cultural Self-Transc.	1.49	1.22	0.6714	0.3286
Cultural Conservation	1.55	1.24	0.6457	0.3543
Income	1.37	1.17	0.7285	0.2715
Education	1.32	1.15	0.7557	0.2443
Gender	1.20	1.09	0.8350	0.1650
Age	1.37	1.17	0.7314	0.2686
Predominantly Catholic	1.15	1.07	0.8730	0.1270
Practising Christian	1.86	1.36	0.5379	0.4621
Uncommitted Christian	1.63	1.28	0.6126	0.3874
Believe w/o Belonging	1.50	1.22	0.6682	0.3318
Post-Christian	1.29	1.13	0.7775	0.2225
Mean VIF	1.46			

Chapter 7

Organisational Networks as Social Capital: An Institutionalist Perspective

"The ability to cooperate is based on habit and practice; if the state gets into the business of organizing everything, people will become dependent on it and lose their spontaneous ability to work with one another." (Fukuyama 2001: 11)

7.1 Introduction

Fukuyama's statement addresses two main issues in the social capital literature: The first issue addresses the role of (political) institutions in generating social capital and the second and related issue concerns the claim that social capital is exclusively a product of civil society. Moreover, it makes explicit reference to social interactions, which could be hindered by state activities. Those social interactions, according to Fukuyama, are fuelled by a "spontaneous ability" (2001: 11), which must refer to that which Putnam (1993) calls the civic. In this chapter, I will argue that the separation of state and civil society is an artificial one. States, it is contended, are part of social networks that produce a public good and *are* a form social capital.

As was discussed at length in the previous chapter, social capital refers to connections among individuals or groups of individuals and the tangible and intangible results of these connections. This division into tangible and intangible results is one between structural and attitudinal components of social capital (Hooghe und Stolle 2003). Most work on social capital, it was shown in the previous chapters, focuses on attitudinal aspects, particularly on the role of trust. This chapter, however, is solely concerned with relationships that produce a collective good: Relationships between individuals, organisations and the state, in short, structures and their form and content. The effect of repeated interaction in terms of trust is nevertheless not completely ignored. It is of some importance in the context of organisational learning where repeated interactions in networks of cooperation establish norms of reciprocity. Thus it is indeed through "habit and practice" that social capital in the form of actor ties is formed. But whereas

Fukuyama (2001) denies the state the ability to produce social capital, I will argue that state institutions are the very source of enabling the formation of some forms of social capital.

My own work so far has dealt with different aspects of volunteering, which is also a form of social capital: The testing of the crowding-out hypothesis regarding welfare state changes (Schulz and Häfliger Musgrove 2004), motivational aspects of volunteering (chapters 3 to 5) and the role of individual and cultural values for volunteering (chapters 2 and 6). The findings, so far, point towards a positive effect of state involvement on volunteering and a greater role of personal values, rather than cultural values, in determining active membership of organisations. Both findings would thus contradict Fukuyama's assertions. However, in testing the crowding-out hypothesis, it becomes evident, that neither welfare state expenses nor active membership are satisfactory indicators for measuring institutional involvement and social interactions respectively. Rather, in using indicators such as these, an artificial separation between state and civil society is already anticipated. If we accept that "social capital resides in relationships" (Hooghe and Stolle 2003: 4), we must include all possible relationships with and within the third sector into our analysis.

In this study, the aim is to examine the role of institutions in promoting structural social capital. Data about eight local networks in the social sector in Swiss cities, incorporating state agents, third sector organisations and volunteers was gathered. The cities differ in the division of third-sector funding between horizontal state agencies, in the degree of formalisation of relations with third-sector organisations, in the existence of volunteer and network policies and in language region. The cities are situated in three different subnational units, different Swiss cantons. In each canton there have been various forms of structural changes from New Public Management (NPM) reforms to regionalisation. These reforms, I shall claim, will affect the formation of social capital as well. The study compares local networks at

two points in time (1998 and 2005) with regard to actor position and network structure. It uses two main measures to evaluate network change: Centralisation and density. The former measures actor power, the latter measures structure in terms of connectivity.

In the first section, the (ongoing) debate regarding state actors in the social capital literature will be summarily recapitulated. I then expand on the institutionalist argument and the reasoning for the structural social capital approach adopted. This is followed by a brief discussion of the network literature which consolidates the structuralist underpinnings. In a next section, the hypothesis regarding the positive influence of state involvement in propagating social capital is expanded on. Next, cases and the data collected are summarised, followed by a detailed description of the eight cases. The following section is dedicated to a test of hypotheses and the implications thereof. I conclude with a discussion of results.

7.2 Civic Culture, Social Capital and the State

The starting point for this analysis is the theoretical argument that civic culture - in Almond and Verba's (1963) sense - is influenced by structures, i.e. institutions or institutional networks. (cf. Muller and Seligson 1994; Lijphart 1989; Pateman 1989). Although Almond and Verba broadly argue that civic culture affects democracy, in "Civic Culture Revisited" they elaborate that "...the position taken in *The Civic Culture* that beliefs, feelings and values significantly influence political behaviour, and that these beliefs, feelings and values are the product of socialisation experiences is one that is sustained by much evidence" (1989: 29). This is to say that processes of socialisation within an institutional framework - be it in a particular polity or organisation - affect civic culture and, as a consequence, influence action. The trust and social interaction components of civic culture have been taken up by the social capital literature (Putnam 1993, 2000; Dasgupta und Serageldin 2001; Lin 2001, Hooghe und Stolle 2003, for example), which has

indeed been called the modern version of civic culture (de Hart and Dekker 2003: 154).

The direction of causality for social capital, however, has been debated at length and with it the role of the state in generating or hindering social capital (see Fukuyama 2001). Broadly speaking, authors such as Almond and Verba (1963) and Putnam (1993) assume civic culture to be a prerequisite for institutional change. Similarly, Inglehart defines social capital as 'a culture of trust and tolerance, in which extensive networks of voluntary associations emerge' (1997: 188). Critics of this bottom-up approach (Jackman and Miller 1998; Tarrow 1996; Levi 1996) find fault with casting social capital as exogenous and civil society as the sole producer of beneficial civic norms, as has been proposed by the Putnam-Model of the creation of social capital (see also Freitag 2003). Instead, political institutions have been proposed as shaping norms and repeated interactions in social networks and politics of support (Muller and Seligson 1994; Tarrow 1996; Levi 1996; Berman 1997; Skocpol et al. 2000; Kumlin and Rothstein 2005).

To propose that group formation is simply a function of trust would also neglect the role of individual motivation and socialisation. Coleman (1990) argued that group formation is driven by individual motivation and incentives, supply and socio-economic factors (see also Olson 1965; Moe 1980; Muller and Seligson 1994). Socialisation is in fact linked to both attitudes and constraints. Following this logic, institutions can activate the formation of social capital by way of socialisation processes. Two mechanisms are at work here: First, attitudes are shaped by socialisation processes (Rokeach 1973) whereby (institutional) norms are adopted and second, interaction patterns, as they are manifest in networks, shape and add constraints to action (Stolle 2003). The role of structural embeddedness in shaping actors' contexts for action is the focus of structuralist theory (Coleman 1986; Burt 1980; Granovetter 1985, for example) as well as a

part of new institutionalist theory (Granovetter and Swedberg 1992; DiMaggio and Powell 1991, for example).

Likewise, Hooghe und Stolle (2003) differentiate between structural- (networks) and attitudinal (trust and reciprocity) components of social capital. The focus of this study will be the structural components of social capital - actor ties. The role of motives, values and trust are discussed in the previous chapters. Moreover, an institutionalist perspective is adopted, i.e. the assumption that institutions shape values and attitudes and can influence network formation. Thus, while in chapters 4 and 5 contextual factors, in the form of affective stimuli, were a focal point of the analysis, in this chapter the institutional context for social interactions is the locus of attention.

7.3 Bringing the State Back in[88]

The insight that "...organized social groups and state actions combine to shape possibilities for social trust and civic engagement" (Skocpol 2008: 118) has created renewed interest in the role of the welfare state in generating social capital, both in terms of attitudes and in terms of structures. The intellectual forefathers of Fukuyama's (2001) claim of the detrimental effect of state involvement on civil society can be found among economic theories subsumed under term "government failure". An early contribution in this tradition is the work of Weisbrod (1977; 1988), which focuses on the at the time much argued over "crowding-out hypothesis" of government spending, which states that with unchanged demand, an increase in government service provision results in a decrease in volunteer effort (Menchik and Weisbrod 1987; Weisbrod 1988).

An opposing view is expressed by Salamon, Sokolowski and Anheier (2001). These authors claim that there is a positive relationship between the size of the nonprofit

[88] Evans et al. 1985

sector and the size of the public sector. Their argument is based on increased organisational resources for nonprofits through state funding. Both studies, however, are based on cross-sectional data and have, therefore, very little to say about the effect of changes in welfare expenditure. The middle ground between these opposing views is taken up by Ostrom (2000) who, - even though she is cited as their intellectual figurehead by some conservative forces[89]- sees government institutions as both, potential facilitators of social capital and as its destroyers. Thus, although the direction of influence is somewhat contested, there is wide agreement on the interdependence of third and public sector.

The relationship between state and nonprofit sector or the "interdependence of public, private and voluntary sector" (Stoker 1998: 18) has also been discussed under the aspect of governance. Governance encompasses relationships between the state, the private- and public sectors at all levels. Van Keersbergen and Van Waarden (2004) found nine different meanings of governance in different approaches (from good governance to non-state governance, to mixed forms (such as New Public Management (NPM) or multilevel-governance) to network governance. What they have in common is pluricentrism, networks, process rather than structures, uncertainty of relations and, often, a teleological normative aspect which envisages horizontal and vertical shifts from government to governance. However, as Keating (2007) points out, the shift has sometimes been reversed in that through regionalisation, new (regional) authorities have been created.

In the study of a particular policy field, functional regionalism, rather than institutional regionalism is of relevance. It entails task-specific jurisdictions, intersecting memberships, many jurisdictional levels, flexible design and a trend toward convergence (Hooghe and Marks 2003). Structural decentralisation is also a key element of NPM reforms (Schedler and Proeller 2006) as becomes evident in

[89] David Cameron, present leader of the Conservative Party in the UK, cited in his 2009 Hugo Young Lecture the 2009 Nobel Laureate's work as supporting his vision of "Big Society" which "will take power from the central state and give it to individuals where possible" (Cameron 2009).

our case studies. In all three cantons that we examine, some form of NPM reforms with repercussions at the local level have been initiated. Governance at the local level has also been called metropolitan governance (Wood 1958). More recently, network theories have permeated institutionalist theory generating a body of literature on "new regionalism", both in a European and a metropolitan context. This literature combines network and governance ideas while emphasising collaborative, non-hierarchical governance including public and third-sector actors (Kübler and Schwab 2007). Moreover, because of the multi-agency, multi-tiered nature of relationships, questions of democratic legitimacy have been raised as well (Scharpf 1999).[90]

Regionalisation or convergence has another conceptual background. In the field of social geography socio-spatial aspects of society are being studied (Houston 1963, for example), particularly in an urban context (Knox and Pinch 2006). In sociology, the significance of space had been theorised very early (Simmel 1901) and Bourdieu (1985) introduced the concept of social space which was very influential for social work theory. Social space principles have been introduced into social work in Germany, Austria and Switzerland in the late 1990's and they have usually been accompanied by measures such as structural change (of institutions), professionalisation, steering instruments along the lines of NPM (Haller et al. 2007). In the eight case studies presented forthwith, some of the regional reforms described have been initiated along the lines of social space principles as well, involving a bundling of competencies at the regional level. Thus regionalisation has been thematised by a number of disciplines that have also been influential in social capital theory.

[90] Cf. European Council Report "Regional Democracy in Switzerland" which recommends that Switzerland "...consider a structural reform at municipal level and establishing a model for agglomeration structures. This 3rd tier of government seems less fully developed than the others. A restructuring which lends it efficiency, democratic legitimacy and institutional and legal stability appears necessary"(Haak-Griffioen 2010).

Although governance theories are not explicitly concerned with social capital, or the production thereof, it is implied that regional governance - by including third sector organisations - stimulates social capital. An earlier study by the author (Schulz and Häfliger Musgrove 2004; Schulz and Häfliger 2007) that analysed the effect of changes in welfare state expenditure on organised volunteer work (at the international and local level) found a positive effect of increased welfare state expenditure on organised volunteering. However, other factors, such as the type of welfare state regime and economic hardship, had to be taken into account as well. Extensive welfare state provisions by the state thus do affect civil society in different ways compared to a laisser-faire philosophy of government (Kumlin and Rothstein 2005; van Oorschot and Arts 2005). Campbell (2003), for example, examines the impact of welfare state programs on political participation. She finds contact with universalist programs to have a positive impact on levels of political participation and attributes this to the stakeholder quality of the program beneficiaries. Although these authors assume trust to be the link between the welfare state and social capital, the mechanism involved is arguably contact.

Contact, as repeated interactions, is at the heart of the network approach to social capital (Lovseth 2009). This structural theory of social relations regards networks as an explanatory variable for various outcomes for which attitudinal aspects are assumed implicitly. By thus leaving attitudinal factors out of the equation, the murky waters of trust can be circumvented. Instead, in structural theories, networks as repeated interactions between actors are analysed.

7.4 Networks and Social Capital

Network actors can be either individuals or organisations. Lovseth (2009: 273) follows along the lines of Evans (1995), Tarrow (1996) and Skocpol (2008) in arguing that "...state capacity and strategies are not mere by-products of social networks, but indeed contribute to the structure of social networks and the role

that state institutions play within these." Thus the state can not only play an active role in structuring social networks, state actors are indeed part of social networks and therefore constitute structural social capital. Similar to the conclusion in chapter 6, this view of social capital endogenises trust, therefore offering a different view from prominent authors such as Putnam (1993). Moreover, social learning becomes relevant in the organisational network context not through individual socialisation processes (as was the case in chapter 6) but through organisational learning. The two main aspects of this view, structural aspects of networks and learning in networks are discussed next.

7.4.1 Network Structure

The structuralist theory of action assumes a structural embeddedness of actors as well as an actor-centered perspective (Coleman 1986; Burt 1980; Granovetter 1985). Structural embeddedness, it is argued, influences interests and resources of actors and contextualises their actions. The actor-centred perspective provides actors with opportunities to influence the network structure. Action is seen as part of the relation between network nodes (actors). Similarly, membership of a social network is defined by interaction with other network members. These interactions have a form and a content (Burt 1980). By content, the type of relation is meant, by form, its strength. Types of relations can include financial relations, personal contact or family relations and they are examined regarding strength and directionality. Bi-directional relations are also called exchange networks and they, in each direction, can differ in type and strength (Cook and Emerson 1987). Here, norms of reciprocity become relevant.

In an organisational network, relations between a state actor and a nonprofit organisation can be a strong financial one in one direction (from state actor to organisation) and a weak contact relation in the other directions (from organisation to state actor), for example. The entire network structure can be considered

relating to network position - which actors are connected and how strongly - and in terms of stratification. Stratification expresses centrality of actors and prestige of actors (hierarchy) (Burt 1982). Functional and geographical delimitation of networks, however, is not a trivial matter (Laumann et al. 1978), as regional and functional networks tend to overlap. Similarly, it is difficult to compare networks because of their size, function and context.

Most comparative network studies measure network *density* (actual links as a proportion of all possible links), network *centralisation* (actor domination) and network *centrality* (identifying clusters and important linking actors). Lovseth's (2009) comparison of socio-political networks in Southern Italy and Norway found important differences in network centralisation which enabled more hierarchical networks to have a greater impact on coordination and decision-making. This dynamic is described as the efficiency advantage of structural-hole-networks (Burt 1980). A comparison of network centrality, on the other hand, revealed a strong influence of economic interest organisations in the less hierarchical south of Italy. Thus with regard to network centralisation, another central topic in network formation, volition or the reasons for joining networks, emerges.

Barnard (1938), Clark and Wilson (1961) and Olson (1965) assumed that individuals join organisations in return for a material or immaterial benefit. For organisational networks, the reasoning has been similarly utilitarian: "...Given functional specialization among organisations and a scarcity of resources, organisations seek to reduce environmental uncertainty by creating negotiated environments" (Cook 1977: 65). In resource allocation networks,[91] which is what

[91] Resource-dependency theory is used to explain formative processes in the context of networks of cooperation and competition (Aldrich 1976; Pfeffer 1972). It is a mixture of exchange theory (Homans 1974; Emerson 1962; Blau 1964) and economic theories and network patterns are shown as resource flows. It suggests that multiple network membership puts organisations at an advantage over others within the network and places them at a central position (node). Thus a combination of centrality and resource value/strength determines the position or status of an organisation within a network (Laumann et al. 1978).

organisational networks in a welfare context would be described as, insecurity regarding resources and information are to be found very frequently and some sort of network structure - be it loose or hierarchical - is the rule. Thus to come back to Lovseth's (2009) study, from a resource allocation point of view, the conclusion that depending on state institutions involved networks would be more or less centralised, makes sense. In order to reduce uncertainty, organisations would only join a local network with a central state actor if the network concerned had a hierarchical structure and therefore was able to distribute funds and information efficiently. If this is not the case, as for example in Southern Italy, it is more efficient for organisations to interact on a one-to-one basis with another organisation or interest group.

Thus organisations become part of a local organisational network because of uncertainty regarding resources, be it in financial terms or in terms of information, knowledge or skills. A nonprofit organisation can therefore apply directly to the state actor for resources or it may contact other, structurally equivalent, organisations - or indeed both. Empirical studies in resource allocation and procurement found that organisations that were only weakly connected to a state actor would also be less strongly connected to other organisations (Levine and White 1961; Galaskiewicz 1979). While there is a definite multiplying effect of well-connected actors in scale-free networks (Barabasi et al. 2000), there are hardly any scale-free networks to be found, least of all in a resource-allocation context (Watts 2003). The question arises, however, what mechanisms drive this exponential attachment patterns. As a last point, we thus come back to norms of reciprocity, or relational trust that can be found in exchange networks, such as the ones we studied (Cook 2005). When there is uncertainty involved, as there is in exchange networks, trust can play an important role in the decision on entering relations with a new actor in a resource network. Relational trust is built on experience, when the actor is known, or on reputation, when the actor is not

known (Cook 2005). It is the latter case, where learning and information diffusion come into the equation.

7.4.2 Learning in Networks

The dynamics of network formation - and therefore the creation of social capital - are often linked to learning effects (see Gulati 1995; Granovetter 1985, for example). The idea that information diffusion leads to imitation can also be found in institutional theory (DiMaggio and Powell 1991; Levitt and March 1988) and policy diffusion literature (True and Mintrom 2001; Simmons and Elkins 2004) and there are a considerable number of empirical studies to back up the assertion that imitation produces network ties among organisations through contacts (Ahuja 2000; Davis and Greve 1997; Galaskiewicz and Burt 1991; Chaves and Gonzalez Vega 1996; Galaskiewicz and Wasserman 1989; Hedstrom et al. 2000). Thus, organisations learn from each other about their relations to other actors and, they imitate behaviour, i.e. might join networks or establish new connections with network actors. We would thus expect greater network expansion in networks with stronger initial ties with the central state actor. This expansion can lead either to a denser network or to more links to a central (state) actor, which controls resources or both. In the former case, network expansion would be due to increased information exchange, in the latter case to new financial ties. For resource networks, which are studied here, it is likely to be both as organisations learn about financial ties through information ties.

Linked to learning mechanisms is the question of whether some types of network structures are more favourable to network diffusion. According to Coleman (1988), closed networks (direct ties from central actor and linkages to others) encourage trust, whereas structural holes (direct ties only) enable a more efficient diffusion of

information (Burt 2001).[92] Moreover, structural equivalence should increase diffusion and imitation in and among networks (Brass et al. 2004), meaning that information and learning is greater among similar organisations. One would thus expect more efficient policy diffusion in networks with structural holes. Evidently, the pre-condition for successful diffusion is also a motivated central actor that intends to advance certain policies.

Which kind of network structure emerges therefore depends on the institutional context and learning effects. As we have seen, existing welfare state arrangements, institutional rules (i.e. subsidiarity) as well as actors' competences paired with political will as a driving force in changing organisational relations strongly influence relation between the state and nonprofit organisations (cf. Gentile 1997; Stoker 1998; Lovseth 2009).

7.5 Local Networks as Social Capital - Context and Hypotheses

From empirical work (Salamon and Anheier 1996b; van Oorschot and Arts 2005; Kumlin and Rothstein 2005; Campbell 2003; Schulz and Häfliger 2007) there is evidence of an activating role of resource allocation networks on active participation. If network relations are strong (in financial or contact terms) between state actor and nonprofit organisations, the relationship between individuals (volunteers) and organisations (nonprofits) are strengthened as well. However, leaving aside the role of values and attitudes in motivating individuals to participate, the mechanism for activation must also relate to structural factors, namely organisational networks. Formulated pointedly this would mean that it is no good having motivated volunteers with nowhere to go. The missing link between state and citizen is the organisational network, of which state institutions are part.

[92] Lazer and Friedman (2007) find a curvilinear relationship between connectedness and performance of networks in simulations.

For this causal chain to work, two conditions must be fulfilled: First, the institutional framework must be one that allows for a role for third sector organisations in providing public goods, second, the institutional framework must enable state actors to be in a service procurement position. The latter refers to the vertical division of powers: Only if competencies for welfare service provisions lie at the regional or local level is it possible for local exchange networks to be established. In all other cases, federal agencies deal directly with (umbrella) service organisations. As we will see, Switzerland, which is the focus of our study, is an ideal laboratory for tests of institutional effects.

7.5.1 The Welfare State in Switzerland

Federalism in Switzerland means that the role of the state at the subnational level can vary according to subnational legislation. In terms of welfare regimes (Esping-Andersen 1990), Switzerland displays a mixture of liberal (transfer-heavy, private compulsory insurance, means-testing and private welfare providers) conservative (employment based social protection) and social-democratic (public insurance schemes, very large proportion of universal welfare schemes) welfare state characteristics (Armingeon et al. 2004). In addition to the system of social security insurance at these different levels, supplementary means-tested support to individuals (including social welfare) is provided sub-nationally by cantonal and communal bodies as well as a considerable number of private welfare organisations that have nonprofit character. Compared to other countries, the overall size of the nonprofit sector (measured in full time equivalents) in Switzerland as a percentage of all employment is about average (3.7%) (Salamon and Anheier 1996a). However, if the different employment sectors are considered separately, there is a striking difference: In Switzerland, a much larger proportion of work (69%) is performed by nonprofits in the social sector than elsewhere (average 19%) and these numbers do not even include volunteer labour performed for nonprofits (Wagner 1990). However, given that the Swiss system of

social security is largely transfer based, it is perhaps less surprising to find such high a figure and it underscores the assertions of Weisbrod (1988) concerning the prominent role of nonprofits in transfer-heavy systems. Wagner (2000) concludes that in Switzerland, the federation and the cantons have delegated a considerable part of social service provision to nonprofits (see also Bütschi and Cattacin 1993).

Moreover, as Ruflin (2006) stresses, the Swiss social market is a quasi-market because it has developed according to political requirements, not market principles. Nonprofit organisations and politics are strongly intertwined as nonprofit actors are part of the political process (c.f. Immergut 1992) and institutional actors often sit in nonprofits‘ board of trustees. It would thus seem that not only is the Swiss welfare state of a type that does foresee a considerable role for nonprofit organisations, but that subnational division of power allows local authorities to procure services from nonprofit organisations in the social sector for their citizens. We can see, therefore, that both conditions for the causal chain from state to citizen to work are potentially fulfilled in the case of Switzerland.

However, the relationship between state actors and nonprofit organisations has been changed to some extent by NPM reforms in the mid 1990’s (Rieder and Widmer 2007). These reforms, which can be situated in the governance discourse, instigated structural and procedural changes affecting all levels of government and the relationship to the private sector. Significant changes in not only functional aspects (such as contracting) but horizontal and vertical shifts in delegation and accountability meant that social networks were being transformed. NPM reforms accentuate hierarchical relationships through the implementation of fixed parameters. Increased accountability under NPM forces intensifies contact ties between state actors and organisations. Regionalisation processes, on the other hand, reduce control instruments for local authorities, shift policy arenas to a higher level and diminish ties between local state actors and nonprofit organisations. These opposite trends may influence network formation as well. We

shall therefore consider structural changes in the analysis of our results as possible interferences.

7.5.2 Hypotheses

This study examines eight cities from three different subnational units (cantons), with varying degrees of subsidiarity, in order to test for variation in the scope for action across institutional set-ups. In all cases, some sort of hierarchical network as the primary relations between the state actor (local authority) and nonprofit organisations in the social sector would be expected. Network ties are primarily of a financial nature, with subsidies flowing from the local authority to the organisations. Local authorities are in this case social service departments in the eight cities. However, other resource ties are, as a rule, also part of network relations. This can include information, coordination etc. Local authorities that can use their discretion when dealing with social service provision have the ability to steer the formation of organisation networks and keep greater control. We will see whether local authorities use this power and whether other factors, such as changes in demand or financial constraints, may influence network formation.

The main tests of institutional capacity for the production of social capital will concern network density (average strength and number of links out of all possible links) and actor centrality (hierarchy). Thus the first hypothesis concerns the strength of initial ties and their effect of subsequent network formation (see Levine and White 1961; Galaskiewicz 1979). Above, I discussed the role of learning effects in this process of network formation (Granovetter 1985; Di Maggio and Powell 1991; Gulati 1995; True and Mintrom 2001, for example). Strong initial ties lead to network expansion in terms of information and finances. Initial ties measure contact frequency, which is strongly correlated to subsidy size.[93]

[93] Significant at the 5% level.

Additional information links between organisations will lead to increased network density among local organisations:

H1a: It is expected that local organisational networks grow denser with increasingly strong ties between local state actors and organisations.

This increase in the organisations' network density is therefore linked to information flow. The second type of network expansions is related to new organisations receiving financial support from the local authority and thus establishing new ties. Thus with increasing strength of ties, the role of the focal state actor would become more central and thus increase local actor centralisation:

H1b: With increasing strength of ties between local state actor and organisations, ties between the local state actor and organisations augment.

Thus local authorities that "invest" more in a network, build more social capital. Two different density measures are used to test these two hypotheses. For hypothesis 1a, the change in strength of ties between the local state actor and organisations as the change in network density of valued ties (the frequency of interaction) across the two actor groups, "state actors" and "nonprofit organisations" is measured. The subsequent change in density of organisational network is measured with the change in connective density within the actor group "nonprofit organisations". For hypothesis 1b, again changes in valued ties between organisations and local state actor are assessed and compared to the change in the council's centrality (betweenness), which increases with new state-actor-organisation ties. As an additional measure the changes in the number of direct ties is utilised.

It will be interesting to see whether, in some cases, a change from a strictly hierarchical network (structural holes) to a closed network (see Brass et al. 2004)

took place. In such a case, a change (decrease) in network centralisation could be observed as the organisational actors gain alternative ties. Policy diffusion, however, is expected to be more efficient in networks with structural holes (Burt 2001), thus volunteer promotion programmes should be implemented more successfully in such networks as information flow is improved in such networks. Consequently, a network with structural holes is more centralised. I will test this by looking at the increase in individual volunteering in nonprofit organisations.

Thus the next test of social capital formation concerns individual participation, namely volunteering. It was proposed that individual motivation and socialisation determine the decision to volunteer (chapter 3). However, an equally important factor is the recruitment process: Most people volunteer because they were asked to (Gaskin and Smith 1995; Stadelmann-Steffen et al. 2007). Some of the parameters for a successful recruitment process were described further in chapters 4 and 5. Nonprofit organisations work partly with volunteers, partly with professionals, depending on the nature of the service and organisational capacity. Its capacity is partly influenced by funding and, as a consequence, by the funding body. Since the international Year of the Volunteer 2001, volunteering has entered the political agenda of many local councils as well (interview evidence) and some have explicitly taken steps to promote volunteer work. Therefore, if there is evidence of such a volunteer promotion agenda by the council, we would expect there to be a noticeable effect at the level of the organisational network. In networks with structural holes, policy diffusion should arguably be more efficient.

H2: It is proposed that volunteer promotion programmes are more successful in cities where there is evidence of a network with structural holes.

The success of programmes can be measured as volunteer increase. Regarding social capital this would mean, more social capital would be created in terms of links between organisations and individuals (volunteers). Regionalisation, NPM

reforms and increased nonprofit expenditure (Schulz and Häfliger Musgrove 2004) are controlled for. With this approach it will be possible to lend support to the idea that state institutions contribute to the formation of and, at the same time, are part of social networks. Moreover, light can be shed on the missing link between the state and active participation without the aid of the concept of trust.

7.6 Data and Measurements

As the basis for this enquiry serve data from eight Swiss municipalities for the period between 1998 and 2005.[94] The municipalities are all cities with over 10000 inhabitants of the type "centre" or "suburban area" (Schuler and Joye 2001) with similar social pressures (Geser et al. 1996). They have been selected according to 1) the role their superordinate governments (cantons) play in the production and procurement of social services to the population, 2) the changes in municipal social welfare expenditure (1993-2002).[95] Table 7.1 lists these attributes of the cases selected.

This selection produces a set of eight cities (Zurich, Thalwil, Wallisellen, Geneva, Meyrin, Olten, Solothurn, Grenchen) in three cantons (Zurich, Geneva, Solothurn) with differing institutional arrangements (Role Canton, Administrative Decentralisation, Change in Social Welfare Expenditure). In the canton of Zurich, the role of the superordinate government, the canton, in the provision of local welfare services is very limited ("Role Canton"). In the canton of Geneva, the role of the canton is very extensive and in the canton of Solothurn, the competencies are about equal.[96] The indicator for the degree of administrative decentralisation

[94] For a more extensive list of city characteristics, consult table A7.1 in the appendix.
[95] Federal Statistical Office (BFS): Expenditure Function 589 (nonprofit organisations and other misc. social expenditure) 1993-2002
[96] Source: Expenditure for Social Welfare Cantons; EFV, Federal Finance Administration 1993-2002 Cities: Expenditure for Social Welfare Cities; "Statistik der Schweizer Städte" (1995-2004), Statistisches Jahrbuch des Schweiz. Städteverbandes, Schweizerischer Städteverband (editor), Bern

("Decentralisation 2001") of municipalities supports this selection.[97] Changes in social welfare expenditure also vary within the cantons (last column). The strongest increases can be found in the three cities (Zurich, Geneva and Olten) that also indicated to have reached the limits of social service capabilities (cf. Table A7.1 in the appendix). Data was collected in four stages. At the first stage, questionnaires were sent to the heads of the social welfare departments in the selected cities, enquiring about three central issues: competences regarding organisations for social service delivery at the local authority level, sources for expenditure data for nonprofit organisations and initiatives concerning the promotion of volunteer work.

The second stage entailed gathering detailed financial data relating to all local (or sometimes regional) nonprofit organisations in the social sector that delivered services to the local population. The social sector is functionally delineated by excluding organisations operating in the field of health or education. Geographical delineation is much more difficult but as a rule, all organisations that provide services for the local population are included. Financial data could usually be obtained by consulting the local finance department. From this information, for each municipality a list of nonprofit organisations in the social sector that had been receiving continued support from the local authority between 1998 and 2005 (for at least two years) was created.

[97] Source: Statistik der Schweizer Städte 2002, Schweizerischen Städteverband, Bern, 2002, p. 66-67. The indicator represents the degree of municipal decentralisation in terms of administrative costs. The higher the percentage, the more decentralized institutional arrangements.

Table 7.1: Case Selection

Canton	City	Role Canton[a]	Decentralisation 2001 %[b]	Change Expenditure 1993-2003 (p.c.)[c]
Zurich	Zurich	-	77	++
Zurich	Thalwil	-	63	+
Zurich	Wallisellen	-	66	-
Geneva	Geneva	+	35	+
Geneva	Meyrin	+	28	++
Solothurn	Olten	=	62	++
Solothurn	Solothurn	=	61	-
Solothurn	Grenchen	=	58	+

Sources: [a] Own calculations based on Expenditure for Social Welfare Cantons; EFV, Federal Finance Administration (1993-2002). Cities: Expenditure for Social Welfare Cities; "Statistik der Schweizer Städte" (1995-2004). [b] Statistik der Schweizer Städte 2002, Schweizerischen Städteverband, Bern, 2002. [c] Federal Statistical Office (BFS): Expenditure Function 589 (1993-2002).

For the third stage, a personal interview was arranged with each of the heads of department. During the interview, detailed information regarding the kind of network ties between the local state actor and nonprofit organisations (financial information, coordination, infrastructure) and the frequency of interaction were gathered. All questions related to the period between 1998 and 2005.[98] In this way, a detailed pattern of relations for the initial ties between state actor and organisations, and any changes during the sample period, could be established and a first impression of the network structure be gained.

[98] Additional questions included the legal basis for support, and (subjective) reasons for changes in support (e.g. political, demand budgetary constraints). Also, other state or private actors relating to nonprofit organisations in the social sector had to be identified. A supplementary question asked interviewees to identify the right network type for their city from a graphical representation of three types of network; a hierarchical network, an ego network with structural holes and a closed ego-network. Ego Networks are grouped around a central actor (ego). They can have a tall or flat hierarchy and include structural holes or be closed (Everett and Borgatti 2005). We only offered the combination tall/structural holes, flat/structural holes and flat/closed as we preclude the possibility of a tall hierarchy with a closed structure. Thus our option "hierarchical network" is, an ego network as well, but with a tall hierarchy

Finally, e-mails containing a description of the project and a link to online questionnaires (or paper questionnaires if so desired) were sent to all of the organisations receiving financial support from the municipalities selected. Overall, there were 360 organisations in the social sector that had been supported financially by one of the eight cities on a regular basis. The response rate was sometimes quite low and has to be considered for the interpretation of results.[99] These questionnaires were similar to those in the main local state actor questionnaire: Organisations were asked to indicate the type and frequency of contact to all of the organisations supported by their local authority and any changes in the type or frequency of contact.[100] Also, regular contacts to other organisations in the social sector, as well as state actors, had to be indicated. In addition, organisations were asked to describe their funding structure and the number of volunteers working for them. Changes in funding structure or number of volunteers could be indicated as well. This data enabled us to gain information on the extended social network - including organisations that were not funded by the council and volunteers interacting with the organisations in our sample.

The role of institutions in the formation of social capital will be tested in two ways; first in terms of the strength of ties as explanatory factor, second in terms of network structure as an explanation for policy implementation. All three hypotheses measure changes over time (1998 - 2005). For the first two hypotheses (H1a and H1b) there is one independent variable, the change in average valued tie strength between the local state actor and local nonprofit organisations. In hypothesis H1a it is assumed that increased network density can be found among nonprofit organisations with strong state actor/nonprofit ties.

[99] The response rates for organisations were as follows: Geneva 27%, Meyrin 17%, Zurich 56%, Thalwil 19%, Wallisellen 26%, Solothurn 18%, Olten 50%, Grenchen 14%.
[100] Types of interaction include: Face-to-face, written, phone, e-mail, other. Frequency categories were "at least once a week, once a month, once a year". Changes in interaction patterns could be described as "increased", "decreased" "same" during the period between 1998-2005.

Thus in these resource allocation networks, organisations are better connected among themselves. Network density across nonprofit organisations measures the share of existing nonprofit ties as a proportion of all possible network ties (normalised). Density varies between 0 and 1, 1 indicating that all possible ties are present. For the second hypothesis (H1b), where a positive effect of strong state actor-organisation ties on network formation is proposed, two different measures for network formation are used: Network growth in absolute terms (change in the number of network members between 1998 and 2005) and state actor centrality, which increases with new council/organisation ties. Local state actor centrality is measured as betweenness, i.e. the percentage of shortest paths that run via the state actor (Hannemann and Riddle 2005). In order to test the last hypothesis (H2) the success of volunteer policies dependent on network structure is considered (Burt 1980). The success of the volunteer promotion programmes, measured as an increase in volunteers (between -1 and 1), is considered. Network structure involves a normalised indicator for total network centralisation (share of paths going via a single actor). With increasing centralisation, more structural holes form. Network centralisation is expressed as a percentage. The control variables for regionalisation and NPM reforms are qualitative (from interviews) and coded as 0/1. Data for increased nonprofit expenditure was provided by the council and is coded as 0/1.

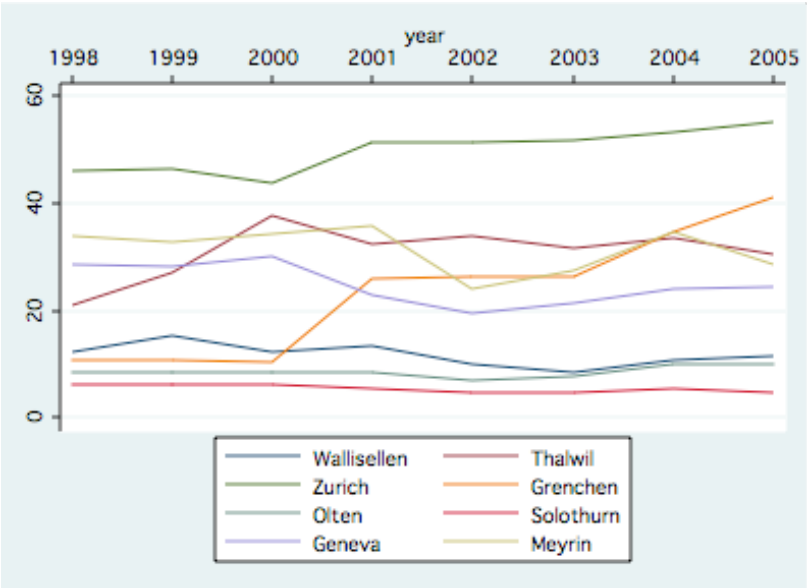
I thus expect to see differences in the relationship between local state actors and nonprofit organisations across cantons, as the role of the local state actor in procuring services varies. Institutional change - in structure or function - may further influence these mechanisms. In the next section, the eight cases are described in some detail and some of the structural changes that have occurred at different levels are compared in terms of extent and effect on network formation.

7.7 A Tale of Eight Cities

7.7.1 Vital Statistics

Before delving into the details of each case separately, a few key characteristics that the cities share, or that separate them, will be considered. Table A7.1 (appendix) provides a summary of these key characteristics. The chosen categorisation of cities according to the role of the superordinate administrative unit (cantons) seems, to a large extent, to be shared by the council representatives. These relationships between organisations and the state are primarily of a financial nature. Financial relationships between state agencies and nonprofit organisations can take two forms; a conventional subsidy or a service contract. The latter has been gradually introduced in Switzerland since the mid 1990s under NPM reforms, but its scope was mostly limited to the German-speaking part of Switzerland. As a consequence, the two cases in the French-speaking part, Geneva and Meyrin, only operate with conventional subsides. Service contracts offer formalised global contracts with extensive control mechanisms for the principal and extensive reporting duties for the contractor (Schedler and Proeller 2006). In our sample, only Zurich has introduced service contracts for all its nonprofits contract partners. Figure 1 depicts changes in nonprofit expenditure between 1998 and 2005 (per capita). There are considerable differences between the eight cases regarding the relative size of expenditure. This can have several reasons, one being that metropolitan centres can attract a greater proportion of low status individuals (Friedmann 1973; Schuler and Joye 2001).

Figure 7.1: Changes in Nonprofit Subsidies 1998 - 2005 CHF (per capita)



The sample includes two main centres - Zurich and Geneva - and six cities in metropolitan areas. In terms of centre-periphery relationship, the two centres take on the most important role regarding resources for the two metropolitan areas Zurich and Geneva. Function, it appears however, is not the only reason accounting for differences. Although Zurich clearly has the largest per capita sum spent on nonprofit organisations in the social sector, Geneva, which is another main centre, spends only half of that amount. Grenchen, on the other hand, a small industrial city in the canton of Solothurn, spends nearly as much per head as Zurich. Geneva's smaller proportion can partly be explained by the much larger role the superordinate authority, the canton plays in financing services.[101]

[101] When comparing nonprofit subsidies as the share of all social expenditure, three types of towns can be identified: In cities with comparatively low expenditure for nonprofits (Wallisellen, Olten,Solothurn), they only compose around half a percent of all social expenditure. The next category of towns is that of towns with high per capita expenditure for nonprofits but a low, under 5%, share in overall social expenditure. These are Zurich, Thalwil and Grenchen. Clearly, service provision by nonprofits is not a priority in these cities. Rather, councils may support public institutions or other polities or invest in transfer payments, such as individual welfare benefits. Last come the councils with lower expenses for nonprofits but a higher share of total social expenditure overall. These are Meyrin and Geneva. Again, structural reasons account for the result of the latter two. In the canton of Geneva, the canton plays a more important role in financing benefits and public services.

An alternative way to consider financing trends is to compare the financing structure of organisations in each town. There are considerable differences in the level of self-support for organisations between the cities in our sample, with Zurich and Solothurn showing the lowest ratio of self-support (just over 1).[102] In these towns, changes in level of public support should be of great consequence to organisations. As expected, the share of cantonal subsidies in organisations' budgets is lowest in Zurich. The highest cantonal dependence show organisations in Olten. In all towns, however, organisations report, on average, an increased share of self-support, despite stable or even increasing state support.

Perhaps, in addition to structural reasons, differences in partisan composition of city councils or problem salience can account for the variance in the share of subsidies. A panel survey of Swiss municipalities, primarily concerned with administrative structure and change thereof, also contains items regarding problem salience (Ladner 1991; Ladner et al. 2000; Geser et al. 1996).[103] As we can see (Table A7.1), there are striking differences between cities: Zurich feels to have exceeded capabilities in most categories already, followed by Olten, Geneva and Grenchen. Two of these (Zurich and Grenchen) have subsequently invested more heavily in nonprofit support. The rest of the cities perceive little threat from escalating social problems. Overall, these perceptions do not seem to account for the extent of state-sponsored social services provided by nonprofits. If we turn to the actual reasons stated for changes in nonprofit subsidies, we can see that none of the interviewees stated a budget cut as a reason for reducing subsidies. The four councils that experienced a (temporary) cut in nonprofit subsidies - Wallisellen, Geneva, Meyrin and Solothurn - stated similar reasons for change: Politics and change in demand (or a combination of those). Both, however, were

[102] Ratio of self-support is constructed from the financing index for organisations ranging from 1 to 21. The share of self-generated means is compared to the share of state support. Higher numbers indicate higher levels of self-support.
[103] Data from the 1998 wave provides indicators for communal service capability in different categories of the social sector (elderly, drugs, youth, unemployment etc.) ranging from 1 (no limit in sight) to 4 (limit exceeded).

reasons for increases in support as well. The most important other reasons mentioned were reorganisation of services and change of law. Specifics of those changes will be discussed in the next section.

When looking at political indicators,[104] we have to take into consideration that only half of cities have an elected legislative body (Zurich, Geneva, Meyrin and Olten). The other half has a citizens' assembly, i.e. a meeting of the electorate that takes place several times a year.[105] An indicator for partisan composition of the executive will be used instead. In our sample only the largest cities, Zurich and Geneva have a left dominated executive. Grenchen, the small industrial town, has the most balanced executive in terms of left/right distribution. According to critics of big government - in terms of social capital growth potential - liberal governments should provide less state services and interfere less with civil society (cf. Pierson 1995). Although left executive dominance does not seem to influence total social expenditure, one can at least say that out of the four cases where structural arrangements do not influence expenditure to a large extent, and which have a liberal-dominated executive (Thalwil, Wallisellen, Olten and Solothurn), the subsidies for nonprofits, as a share of all social expenditure, are all very low. How does this translate into volunteer numbers? All cities studied, with the exception of Wallisellen, have had some kind of volunteer promoting agenda during that period and over 90% of organisations in the sample depend to some extent on volunteers. The preconditions for volunteer activation should therefore be suitable in all cases. In the next section thus follows an account of each case grouped by canton before comparing the results in the following section.

7.7.2 Zurich - Strictly Contracts

[104] Source: Ladner et al. (2000)
[105] In these meetings, matters such as annual accounts and budgets are decided upon.

The Canton of Zurich is dominated by its capital, Zurich, and its agglomeration. Many of the nonprofit organisations that can be found delivering services are based in Zurich and the city spends the highest amount of all of our cases on social welfare. There are some important structural and political differences between the city of Zurich and the other two Zurich towns in our sample, apart from size and function. First, the city of Zurich applies NPM principles to the relationship between the state and third sector organisations and second, Zurich is governed by an executive dominated by left parties.

NPM reforms began in the canton of Zurich (administration) in 1995, in the city of Zurich from 1996. The municipal department of social affairs introduced the new management principles from 1997. It has a contracting department overseeing over 200 contracts with social service organisations (to date). In the functional area under study, the number of organisations has almost doubled between 1998 and 2005. Thus annual change in expenditure of nonprofit organisations is largely due to the changing numbers of organisations as global budgets - as it is the norm under NPM - have longer budgeting periods. The structured nature of relations between the state actor and nonprofit organisations in the city of Zurich means that although the network may grow in size, it will not change its basic form - a hierarchy. Thus any structural changes that influence the shape of local policy networks in other towns, do not affect the Zurich network to the same extent - due to given structural constraints.

In the canton of Zurich as a whole, there has been a regionalisation trend, though not as pronounced as in Solothurn and geographically limited. In 2000, the city of Zurich converged social service delivery from twelve wards to five social regions in order to simplify administration and controlling. This service convergence, as we will later see, was also introduced in Geneva. The other two Zurich towns of Wallisellen and Thalwil are not, in this sense, part of regionalisation of services as their social region is the greater Zürich area. There are some local convergence

processes to be found but they have remained insignificant so far. More than half of supported organisations supported by those two towns are based in the city of Zurich and most of those have service contracts with the city of Zurich. We saw that in the city of Zurich, there was an incremental change of supported organisations and with it a budget increase. In the other two Zurich towns, the matter is somewhat complicated by the lack of global budgets. In Wallisellen, for example, there is a budget decrease in absolute terms. However, this change is mainly due to the varied support of one particular organisation. This organisation had in fact been completely restructured and its support had been apportioned to several more towns, thus reducing the burden of individual creditors. In Thalwil, the number of organisations that are subsidised by the local authority has not changed (though partly the organisations themselves) but the amounts spent on each organisation have. Thus, in the canton of Zurich three kinds of changes have taken place: An increase in organisations supported (Zurich), an organisational restructuring (Wallisellen) and a policy change (Thalwil) all leading to relative increases in budgets for nonprofit organisations.

7.7.3 Geneva - I am also a Canton

The city of Geneva houses around 40% of the population in the canton of Geneva and dominates economic and cultural activities. Neither of the two Geneva towns perceive to have reached the limits of their service capability and in both cases, expenditure for nonprofit organisations has decreased between 1998 and 2005. Per capita expenditure for social welfare is very low, compared to the other cases in our sample. As elaborated above, this is due to the extensive role of the canton in financing benefits and services. In fact, the canton has played a leading role in shaping the cities‘ relationship to nonprofit organisations.

From 1995 far-reaching structural reforms, entailing a division of power and financing between the city and the canton, were initiated in Geneva.[106] The latter includes subsidies to nonprofit organisations. Social services were to be decentralised and delivered through twenty-two newly created social regions (eight in the city of Geneva), each containing a service centre, CASS (centre d'action sociale et de la santé).[107] In a next step a joint project regarding the harmonising of subsidies for nonprofit organisations was launched in order to eliminate redundancies in the subsidy structure.[108] Thus it could be said that in Geneva, popular-initiated reforms at the superordinate level triggered reforms at the subordinate level. As we will see later, a similar story can be told for the canton of Solothurn.

Despite declining subsidy amounts showing in the communal ledger, the number of nonprofit organisations supported increased by almost a third in the sample period. The reason for this development being that some big subsidies fell away due to restructuring and despite the incremental number of organisations, this change resulted in a diminishing total. The same can be said for Meyrin: The number of organisations increased by about a third and at the same time, the largest subsidy has decreased by half. In this case, however, the organisation in question has become more self-supporting. Thus in relative terms, neither case presents a decrease in state support.

7.7.4 Solothurn - Back to the Regions

[106] In 1995 the citizens of the Canton of Geneva voted on a popular initiative to take action to reduce the state deficit (Initiative populaire «Pour réduire les dépenses abusives de l'Etat de Genève», 25.06.1995). After the approval of the voters, an audit was undertaken by the firm Arhur Andersen. Following their recommendations, a far reaching reform plan was presented by the cantonal administration. It entailed reforms in the area of management and accounting (NPM), division of power between the canton and the city, and the management of debtors and subsidies. Reform text on: http://www.geneve.ch/reforme/reforme97/economie1.html# (15.02.2010).
[107] Law number K 1 07, coming into force 01.01.2002
[108] According to a project presentation on 15th November 2005, 1/3 of organisations in the Geneva area received subsidies from both city and canton.

The three towns in the canton of Solothurn are of almost equal size and of the same type (suburban centre). Although all three reported an increase in social problems in 1998 (unemployment, crime, drug use and welfare recipients), only Grenchen and Olten thought to be close to reaching the limit of institutional capabilities to deal with those. Solothurn, on the other hand, seemed less pessimistic as regards to its problem solving capabilities (Ladner et al. 2000). These sentiments are reflected in the expenditure each town makes for social benefits and services. Solothurn clearly spends least overall and on services - the latter having decreased during the sample period. Olten spends more than twice as much per inhabitant on social benefits and services and subsidies for local nonprofit service delivery has increased between 1998 and 2005 as well, but only slightly. The changes were due to the ongoing social reform and the resulting restructuring of finances, as was the case in Grenchen.

Grenchen had comparatively low overall expenditure on benefits and services, but a considerable increase in the support of nonprofit services during the same period - by almost 400%. In a personal interview, the local representative confirmed that a change of law (see below), foreseeing a greater financial role for the local authority, was responsible for this staggering increase. Coordination between third sector organisations and the state have undergone dramatic changes, however, since the introduction of new legislation in this field.

In this canton, evidence of "new regionalism" (cf. Kübler and Schwab 2007) since 1998, when a reform on social service cooperation was passed, can be found. However, the development is more in line with Norris' (2001) definition of metropolitan governance than the typology of "new regionalism" suggested by Kübler (Kübler and Schwab 2007: 478) as we find multi-tiered government structures as well as private-sector coordination. The social legislation reform in the canton of Solothurn was driven by the Canton and implemented gradually. The canton had started a major NPM reform program titled "Slim State" in the mid

1990's in order to overcome financial problems in the cantonal household (Rieder and Widmer 2007). After the initial phase, reforms were to be extended to the communes. Principles of NPM were to be introduced in the relationship between the canton and communes generally and in the social sector specifically.[109] The final version of the new law (from 2009) had introduced "social regions" where services are controlled and evaluated by the canton.[110] When considering the data for the Solothurn towns, it becomes evident that the relationship between the state and nonprofit organisations in the Canton of Solothurn were beginning to get more structured during the sampling period.

Therefore, evidence of regionalisation processes can be found in all three cantons. There is on the one hand, the introduction of "social regions" at the local level in the cities of Zurich and Geneva and, on the other hand, territorial reforms of social spaces at the cantonal level in the cantons of Geneva and Solothurn. The former can be considered under the sociological aspect of social space (Bourdieu 1985) as it is characterised by re-organisation of social work, whereas the latter is more in line with Governance reforms aimed at reducing household deficits. However, initially, emulation decisions regarding reforms seem to have been predominantly driven by interests, not normative ideas (cantonal level). The reforms have led to both vertical and horizontal shifts which forced the actors concerned to react to new structural and procedural realities. Such territorial shifts can lead to new linkages with actors from different policy arenas. Whether this has influenced the formation of social capital becomes evident in the next section.

7.8 Is More More? The Changing Shape of Social Capital

[109] Mission statement of the department of social affairs of the canton of Solothurn. (http://www.so.ch/departemente/inneres/soziale-sicherheit/wir-ueber-uns/fuehrung/mission.html), visited 15.02.2010.

[110] Not all communes were completely happy with these new arrangements, as a newly launched popular initiative by the association of communes, with the title "Sausage and Potatoes instead of Lobster and Caviar" shows. The initiative wants a new division of power and accountability between the canton and the communes (http://www.vseg.ch/index.php?id=initiative).

In this chapter the institutional effects on social capital formation are studied. The aim is to show that institutions, in themselves part of social capital, influence the formation of social capital positively, thus refuting the "bottom-up" arguments of social capital formation (Fukuyama 2001; Putnam 2000, for example). The focus of this chapter is on the formation of structural social capital, that is the formation of social networks. To this end the network formation in eight cities have been studied.

First, I expect a positive effect of strong ties between state actors and nonprofit organisations on network formation. Second, I presume policy implementation to be more successful in networks with structural holes. Two main measures of network structure to evaluate network change are used; centralisation and density. The former measures actor power, the latter measures network structure in terms of tie strength or connectivity. Ucinet 6[111] is used for the network analyses. There is a caveat to the interpretation of these results, however, as with all network analysis the results are partly driven by the completeness of data. Since the starting point of data collection was the financial ties between the central actor and supported nonprofit organisations, and this data is complete, towns with lower response rates for the organisational questionnaires turn out to be more centralised and less dense by default. I will therefore refrain from showing the results for those cases where less than a quarter of contacted organisations have responded. This was the case in Meyrin, Thalwil, Solothurn and Grenchen. A network visualisation for all towns is shown in the appendix (Figure A2), nevertheless. The focus of the analysis at hand will therefore be on relationships between groups of actors, such as state actors and nonprofit organisations in the towns of Geneva, Zurich, Wallisellen and Olten.

[111] Borgatti, S.P., M.G. Everett, and L.C. Freeman. 1999. UCINET 6.0 Version 1.00. Natick: Analytic Technologies.

All of the networks studied represent some form of hierarchy. This is given by the nature of relationships within the network, that is the resource context of ties (Cook and Whitmeyer 1992). However, as we saw in the previous section, structural change in each of the three regions influences the shape and size of local networks. With new policy communities, confined hierarchical networks acquire more regional network ties. The one exception to this process is the city of Zurich, where relations between state actors and nonprofit organisations are strictly regulated by service contracts and thus not allowing for any deviation from a hierarchical structure. I would therefore expect the network structure in the town of Zurich to change very little in the space of seven years. In the canton of Solothurn and to a lesser extent Geneva, on the other hand, the regionalisation process would indicate a diminishing role for the local state actor and a strengthening of higher level state actors and regional organisations. I will therefore control for regionalisation and NPM in our analysis. An increase in nonprofit subsidies may also contribute to growing social capital, and will therefore also be controlled for (Schulz and Häfliger Musgrove 2004).

Two basic hypotheses are tested: *The positive influence of strong ties on network formation and the role of network structure for policy implementation*. The first main hypothesis (H1) has two components; information links and financial links. Both are associated with learning processes (Granovetter 1985; Di Maggio and Powell 1991; Gulati 1995; True and Mintrom 2001, for example). Strong contact ties (information links) between state actor and organisations should lead to an increase in contact ties (information links) among nonprofit organisations (H1A). Thus nonprofit organisations, in such a scenario, are better connected among themselves. The second effect of strong contact ties between council and organisations (information links) results in an increase in financial ties (financial link) to the council (H1B1 and H1B2). New organisations learn about financial relationships from other nonprofit organisations and apply for subsidies from the council as well. The second main hypothesis (H2) tests whether in networks with

structural holes, volunteer policy is implemented more successfully. Results for all four hypotheses are displayed in Table 7.2. The results are displayed in binary form. A table of network indicators upon which Table 7.2 is based, can be found in the appendix (table A7.2).[112]

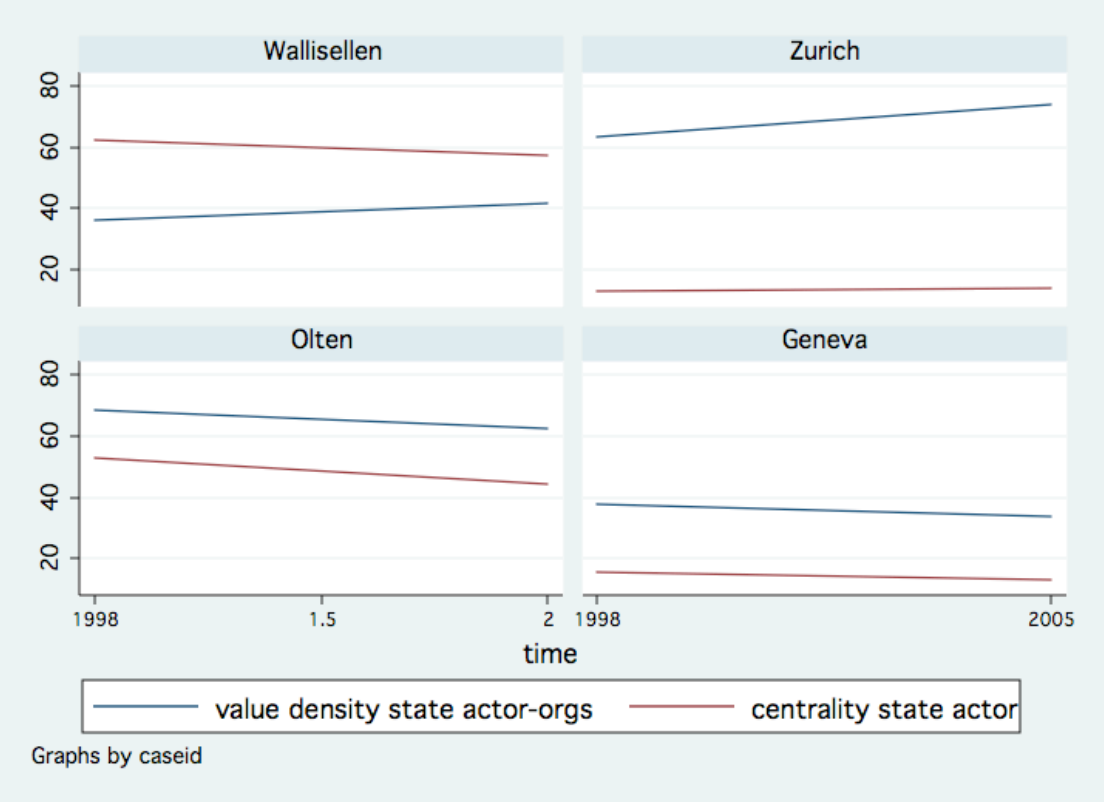
To test the first part of the first main hypothesis (H1A) I measure two different types of network density across actor groups, for valued ties (frequency of contact) and for connections (existence of ties). Density measures of a network indicate the extent of dyadic connection in a sample. For valued ties, such as contact frequency, density represents the average strength of ties for existing ties. As a reminder, contact frequency was coded between zero (never) and three (once or several times a week). For binary data, i.e. the connective density, density represents the proportion of all possible ties present (Hanneman and Riddle 2005). Density is measured within and across groups of actors. Groups are formed according to organisation type, i.e. central state actor, other state actors, nonprofit organisation and other (regional) organisation. In order for the first hypothesis to be confirmed, an increase in valued density across nonprofit organisations and the council between 1998 and 2000, would lead to an increase of connective density within the group of nonprofit organisations (information ties). Thus we would look for either a positive (1, 1) or negative result (0, 0) for hypothesis 1a. Table 7.2 shows (H1A) that the effect of increased value density on connective density of organisations is influenced by regionalisation. In Geneva and Olten, the absence of an increase in value density is most likely due to changing relationships between council and organisations because of regionalisation. In Zurich, there is no increase in connectivity among organisations. This can be due to the hierarchical relations due to NPM contracts in this town. In Wallisellen, where we have no alternative

[112] In addition, Qualitative Comparative Analysis (QCA) was performed with the results from Table 7.2 (Ragin 1987). The software used is the QCA package in R. The interpretation of results was by and large confirmed. However, as these hypotheses are not particularly suited to be tested by means of QCA (see Hug 2010) I refrain from discussing these results.

explanations, there is a positive relationship between value density and connective density.

In order to test the next part of our first main hypothesis - the effect of strong contact ties between local state actor and organisations on financial ties - as indicated, two different measures for augmenting local state actor/organisation ties are used. The first measure is an increase in the number of ties (H1B1) the second is state actor centrality (H1B2). Both are thought to be influenced by an increase in frequency of contact between the central state actor and organisations (Value Density). The results of the latter test are shown in Figure 7.2.

Figure 7.2: H1B2 - Changes in Value Density and Centrality (1998, 2005)



Changes in actor centrality (Freeman node betweenness) are used to evaluate network formation over time (Hannemann and Riddle 2005). Actor centrality

measures the percentage of all paths (ties) where a specific actor lies in the shortest path between two nodes. Here, one can see again that there is a positive effect of value density on central actor centrality, but only if there is no regionalisation. Thus without regionalisation, strong ties between central state actor and organisations encourage network formation.

In Geneva and Olten, where there is no increase in value density - possibly due to regionalisation - there is no increase in local authority centrality either.

Table 7.2: Test of Hypotheses[113]

	Geneva	**Zurich**	**Wallisellen**	**Olten**
	H1A	H1A	H1A	H1A
Increase Value Density Central State Actor - Orgs	0	1	1	0
Increase Connectivity Orgs	1	0	1	0
	H1B1	H1B1	H1B1	H1B1
Increase Value Density Central State Actor - Orgs	0	1	1	0
Network Growth	1	1	1	0
	H1B2	H1B2	H1B2	H1B2
Increase Value Density Central State Actor - Orgs	0	1	1	0
Increase State Actor Centrality	0	1	0	0
	H2	H2	H2	H2
Increase Network Centrality	1	1	0	0
Increase Volunteers	1	1	0	0
	Alternative	Alternative	Alternative	Alternative
Regionalisation	1	0	0	1
NPM	0	1	0	0
Volunteer Promotion	1	1	0	1
Increase Expenditure	0	1	0	1

[113] Results are presented in binary form. Network indicators (H1A to H2) were coded 1 if change was > 0 between 1998 and 2005. Alternative explanations were coded as follows: Regionalisation: Subjective data from interviews (1 if regionalisation was confirmed by interview partners.); NPM: Data from interviews (1 if NPM is applied in the area of nonprofit support); Volunteer Promotion: Subjective Data from interviews (1 if volunteer promotion agenda has been confirmed by council representative); Increase Expenditure from council expenditure data (coded 1 if change was > 0 between 1998 and 2005).

In Zurich, where there is an increase one finds an increase in local authority centrality as well. NPM may increase state actor centrality as well. A different test for the same hypothesis is provided by using another indicator, an augmentation in the number of council/organisation ties, for an increase in state actor/organisation ties. This is done in hypothesis 1B1 (H1B1). Here, a similar picture presents itself.

There is a positive effect of strong contact ties on network formation. The exception here is Geneva, where there is an increase in state actor/organisation network ties but, as already discussed, no increase of value density. The restructuring of service provision through social regions inside the city may be responsible for this, explaining the somewhat paradoxical fact that through regionalisation the council may become less central but have more ties. NPM reforms, on the other hand, have clearly no positive effect on the formation of network ties. This diminution of ties due to regionalisation does not mean, however, that overall, social capital has diminished. Table A7.2 in the appendix shows the changes in network ties across actor groups over time. It becomes evident that in Geneva and Olten, those cities affected by regionalisation, ties between nonprofit organisations (group 1) and other (cantonal, federal) state actors (group 3) or other (regional) organisation (group 2) have increased in number and strength.

The last test concerns policy implementation in networks with structural holes (Burt 1980). It is expected that volunteer promotion programmes are more successful in cities where there is evidence of a network with structural holes. A common way to look for evidence of structural holes in a network is network centralisation, that is, how much the network structure deviates from a network that has just one central actor with one single tie to each of the other, unconnected, actors (star network). An increase in network centralisation would indicate that power within the network is less evenly distributed and contains, as a consequence, more structural holes. The results (H2) in table 7.2 are quite clear;

increasing centralisation of the entire network in cities that had a volunteer promotion agenda in the period of observation is linked to an increase in volunteers, i.e. a successful policy implementation.[114] An increase in nonprofit expenditure, regionalisation or NPM, on the other hand, are non-essential to policy success.

In conclusion one can say that institutions are indeed relevant for network formation and therefore the creation of structural social capital. In the eight cases that were analysed, the link between the institutions and network formation appears to be influenced by a number of structural factors, such as regionalisation processes and management reforms. Policy implementation, for policies such as volunteer promotion programs, seem to be aided by network structures with structural holes, but not be affected by structural reforms or changes in subsidies, thus weakening the argument of Salamon et al. (1996) that it is through resources that social capital can be increased.

7.9. Conclusion

My aim for this chapter was to show that, contrary to bottom-up theories of social capital (Fukuyama 2001; Putnam 2000), state institutions can have a positive effect on the formation of social capital. I studied repeated interactions between state actors, nonprofit organisations and individuals in eight Swiss cities and chose a network approach for the analysis of these relationships.

The first main hypothesis, which concerns the positive effect of strong state-actor/organisation ties on network formation (Levine and White 1961; Galaskiewicz 1979), could be confirmed. Structural reforms, such as regionalisation of service provision or NPM reforms, were found to influence the network formation process.

[114] The response rate for these questions was very low, however. Only around a third of organisations answering the questionnaire, proceeded to answer these questions regarding volunteers (placed at the end of the questionnaire).

Thus the basic premise of network theorists that network formation is influenced positively by repeated contact among organisation and state institutions through imitation can be confirmed (Ahuja 2000; Davis and Greve 1997; Galaskiewicz and Burt 1991, for example).

The effect of strong state-actor/organisation ties on organisation ties (information ties) was shown to be positive but influenced negatively by regionalisation processes. The same can be said for the relationship between strong state-actor/organisation ties on the formation of new state-actor/organisation ties (financial ties). For both measures of tie formation (tie increase and state actor centrality), frequent state/organisation interactions have an activating effect. Furthermore, in both cases, regionalisation was found to be hindering local network formation. However, this does not necessarily mean that the governance literature's implicit claim that social capital could be increased through regionalisation processes is inaccurate.

Although local network formation appears to be hampered by regionalisation, there is some evidence that ties have not been eliminated but formed elsewhere, at the regional level. However, anecdotal evidence from our cases point toward possible agency problems linked to regionalisation processes and the uncoupling of resource procurement and accountability. Individual level participation, on the other hand, does not seem to be influenced by regionalisation processes. Volunteering numbers were not influenced by regionalisation. The other type of structural reform, NPM reforms, increase state actor centrality and therefore state actor power while at the same time restraining information flow among organisations to some extent.

The second main hypothesis, the role of network structure on policy implementation success could be confirmed as well (Burt 2001). In networks with structural holes, volunteer promotion policies were more successful. This result is

independent of structural change or changes in finance thus partially relativising previous empirical findings (Schulz and Häfliger 2007). Neither regionalisation nor NPM reforms seemed relevant for the development of volunteer numbers. However, there may be other relevant factors for the success of volunteer promotion that escaped our analysis.

Although these cases were studied in some depth, there is one major caveat to be made. Network analysis is dependent on the completeness of information. As the response rate in half of the cases was very low, I refrained from using those result. This however, limits the generalisability of results somewhat. Particularly for policy implementation, the success of different policies would have to be tested in order to strengthen the results and different factors (at the organisational level) would have to be explored in more detail.

In conclusion it can be confirmed that in the cases that were studied state capacity and strategy arguably shape the structure and development of social networks. With this view of social capital - as structural social capital - the state plays a major part in influencing social capital. State institutions, at different horizontal and vertical levels, affect relationships among nonprofit organisations and their operational scope. Thus Fukuyama (2001) was right in stating that "the ability to cooperate is based on habit and practice". Repeated contact increases structural social capital. There is, however, no indication whatsoever that "the state organizing everything" leads to a loss of social capital. On the contrary, the more powerful the central state actor, the more efficient it is in promoting social capital.

Appendix Chapter 7

Table A7.1 Characteristics of Cases Selected

	Zurich	Thalwil	Wallisellen	Geneva	Meyrin	Olten	Solothurn	Grenchen
Canton	ZH	ZH	ZH	GE	GE	SO	SO	SO
Population 2000	363273	15805	11939	177964	19548	16757	15489	15938
Main responsibility NPO's subj.	City	City	City	Canton	Both	Canton	City	City
Volunteer Agenda	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1
Contract Management for NPOs	all	few	few	none	none	few	none	few
Limit of service capability	3.75	1.75	1.6	2.5	1.8	2.6	1.6	2.3
Social expenditure total p.c. 00	2624	1010	1532	439	281	1861	609	860
Share nonprofit expenditure % 05	1.70	1.80	0.50	3.20	7.40	0.50	0.50	3.50
Reasons for Change in Support:								
- Smaller Budget	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
- Larger Budget	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
- Change in Demand	1	0	1	0	0	1	1	0
- Politics	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	0
- Societal Perception	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
- Other	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1
Elected legislative	1	0	0	1	1	1	0	0
Left dominance executive	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	=*
Network Type subjective	hierarchical	ego - closed	hierarchical	ego - closed	ego - closed	ego - closed	ego - closed	ego - structural holes
Network Type Change from:	hierarchical	ego - structural holes	ego - structural holes	ego - structural holes	hierarchical	hierarchical	hierarchical	hierarchical

* Equilibrium or close to

** The higher the score, the higher the rank. Source: Quellen: IDHEAP/BADAC (2005). Städteranking Lebensqualität

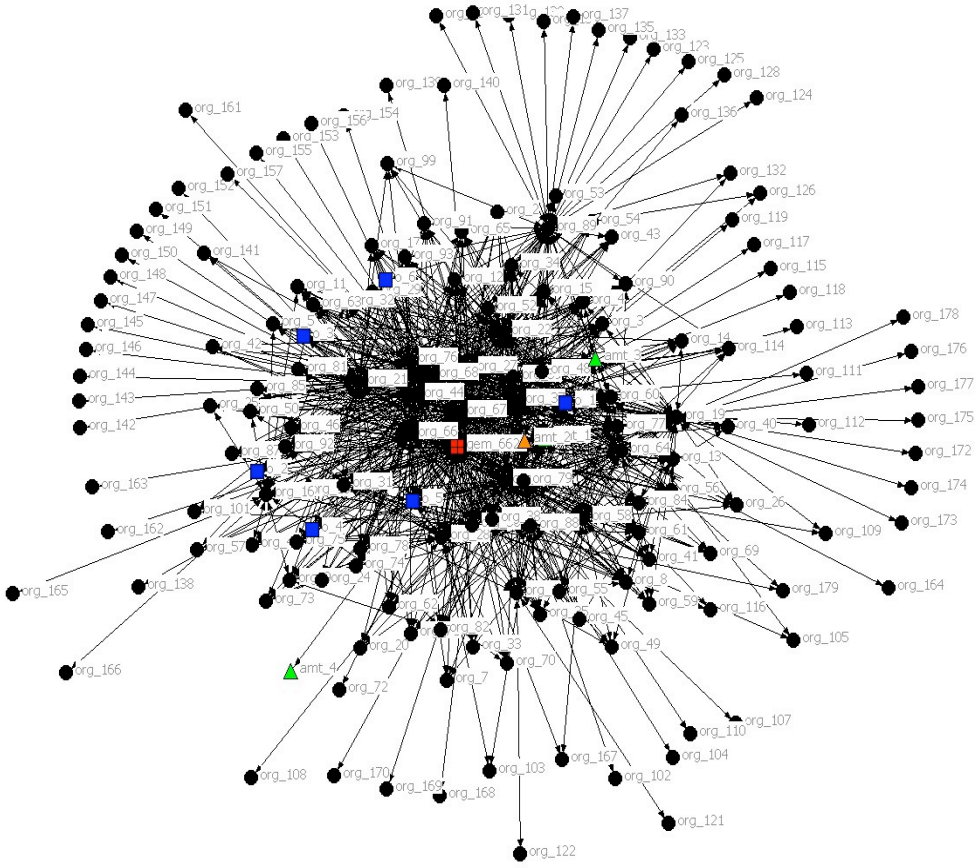
A7.2: List of Network Indicators from Network Analysis

	Network Centralization	State Actor Centrality	Valued Density within	Valued Density across					Connective Density within	Connective Density across		
			1	**1-2**	**1-3**	**1-4**	**2-4**	**3-4**	**1**	**1-2**	**1-3**	**1-4**
Geneva 98	46.460	15.750	1.539	1.625	1.667	1.323	1.883	2	0.055	0.076	0.085	0.504
Geneva 05	50.230	12.804	1.631	1.775	1.738	1.209	2.333	2.000	0.060	0.084	0.102	0.541
Meyrin 98	83.660	53.344	1.938	2.000	1.125	2.077	2.000	2.000	0.205	0.077	0.154	1.000
Meyrin 05	91.380	66.700	1.654	2.000	2.250	1.750	2.000	2.000	0.094	0.200	0.276	1.000
Zurich 98	33.480	12.772	1.406	1.500	1.486	1.846	1.000	2.000	0.073	0.143	0.148	0.429
Zurich 05	35.200	14.160	1.385	1.519	1.549	2.000	2.000	1.667	0.046	0.148	0.123	0.438
Thalwil 98	51.700	22.322	2.186	1.000	1.636	1.300	1.000	1.125	0.168	0.009	0.051	0.741
Thalwil 05	49.200	29.960	1.912	1.000	1.762	1.333	1.000	2.125	0.099	0.022	0.057	0.457
Wallisellen 98	73.000	62.549	1.686	1.000	1.333	1.292	1.000	2.250	0.066	0.030	0.045	0.727
Wallisellen 05	71.050	57.686	1.510	2.000	1.813	1.429	1.000	2.250	0.069	0.026	0.051	0.718
Solothurn 98	63.830	60.875	1.850	1.000	1.750	1.600	1.000	2.000	0.057	0.037	0.074	0.556
Solothurn 05	68.240	33.944	1.750	1.000	1.467	1.643	2.000	2.625	0.126	0.076	0.082	0.609
Olten 98	63.190	52.867	1.704	1.600	1.471	1.929	2.500	2.000	0.098	0.104	0.079	0.583
Olten 05	54.840	44.243	1.710	1.500	1.600	1.833	2.500	2.000	0.103	0.120	0.089	0.480
Grenchen 98	96.310	88.855	1.200	.	.	1.824	2.000	2.444	0.110	0.000	0.000	1.000
Grenchen 05	95.800	85.786	1.100	.	.	1.950	2.000	2.444	0.105	0.000	0.000	1.000

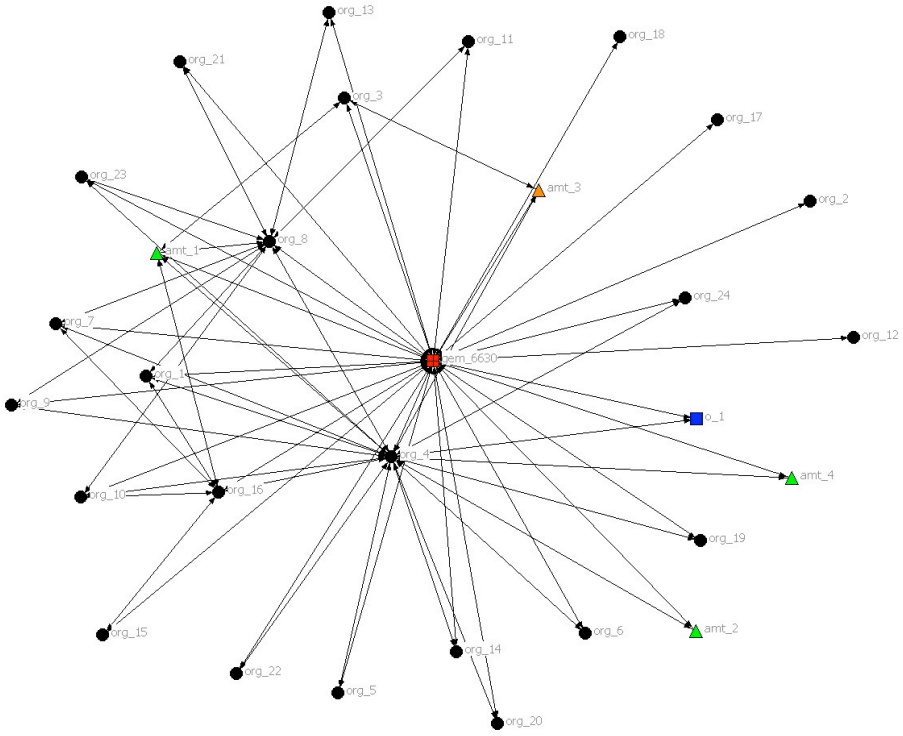
(1= Nonprofit Organisations, 2= Other Organisations, 3= Other State Actors, 4 = Central State Actor

Figure A7.2: Network Graphics

Geneva 2005



Meyrin 2005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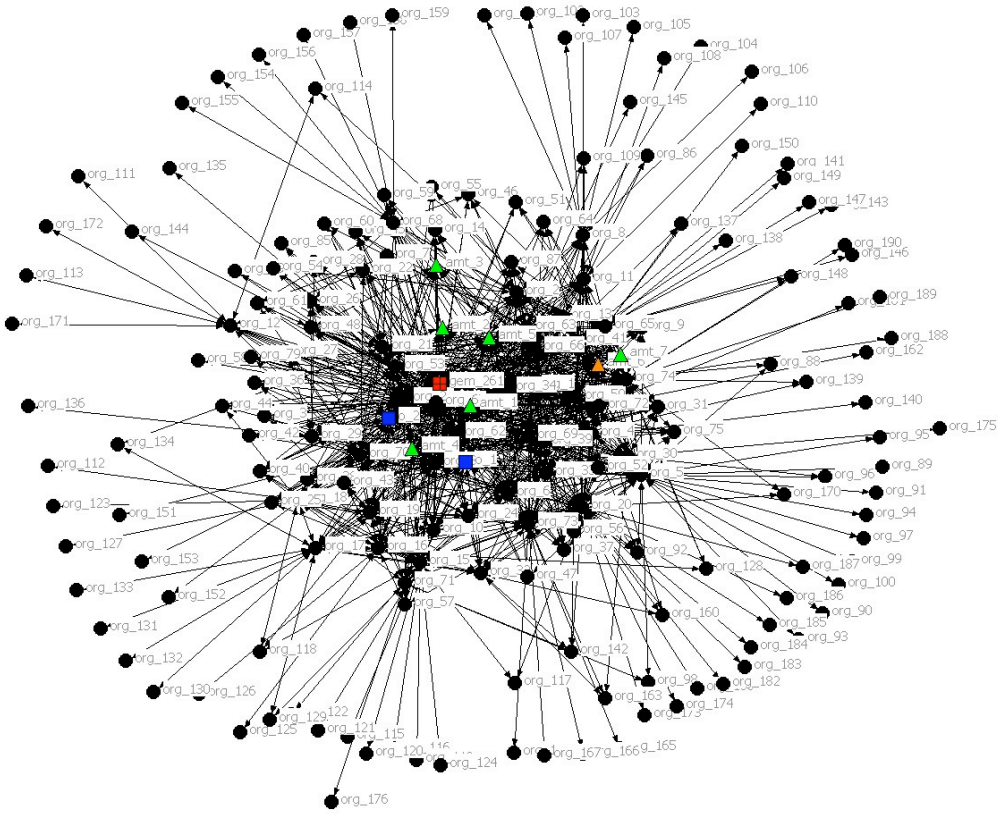
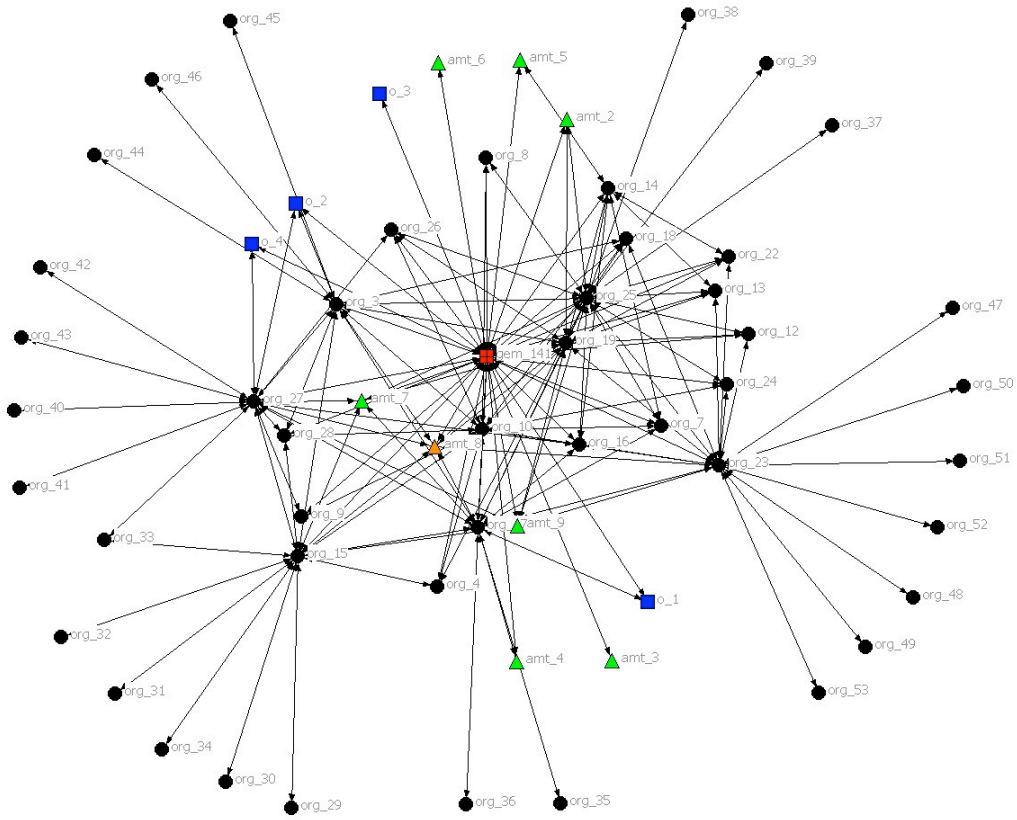
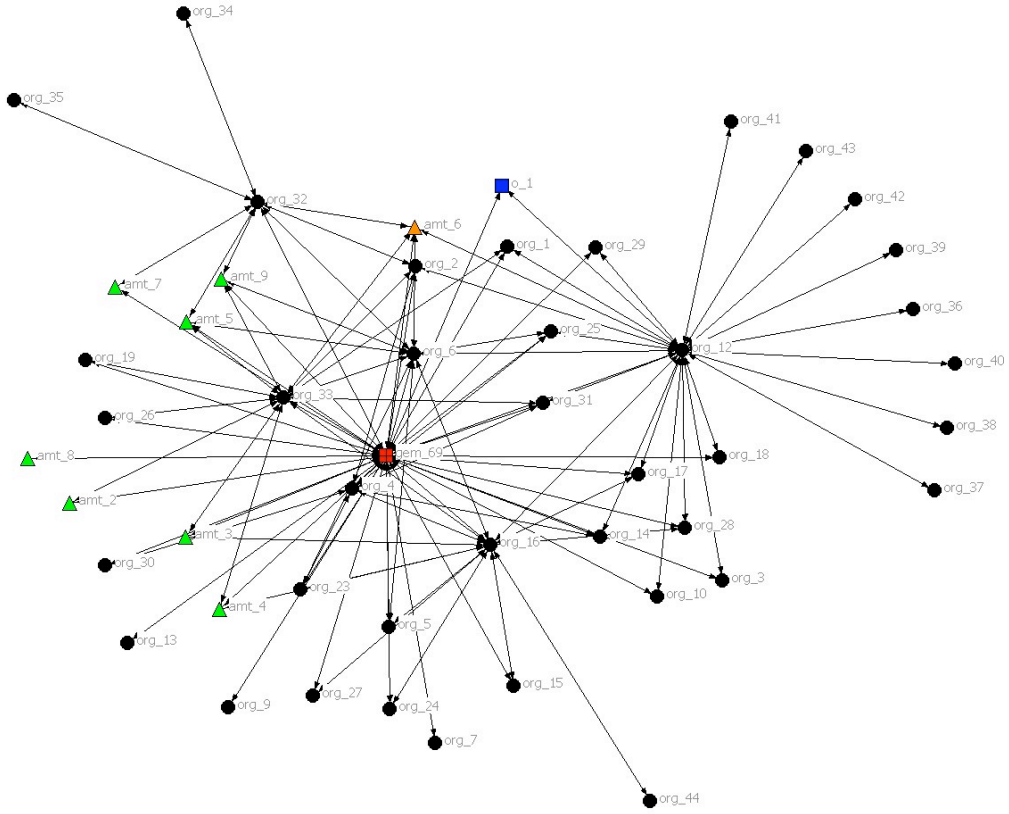
Zurich 2005



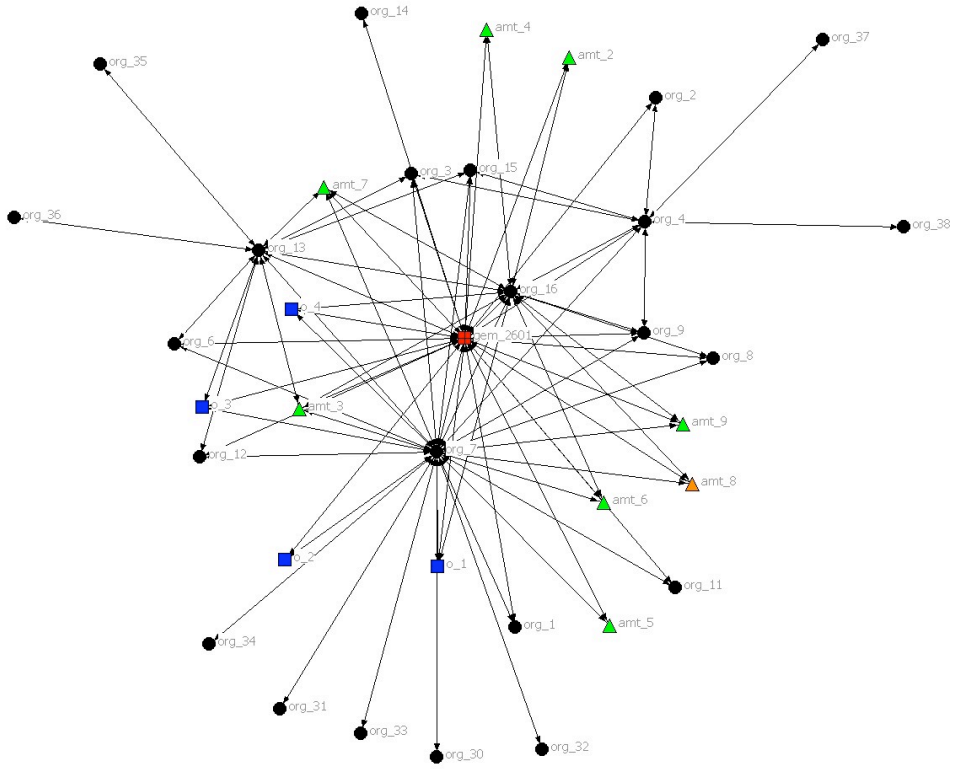
Thalwil 2005



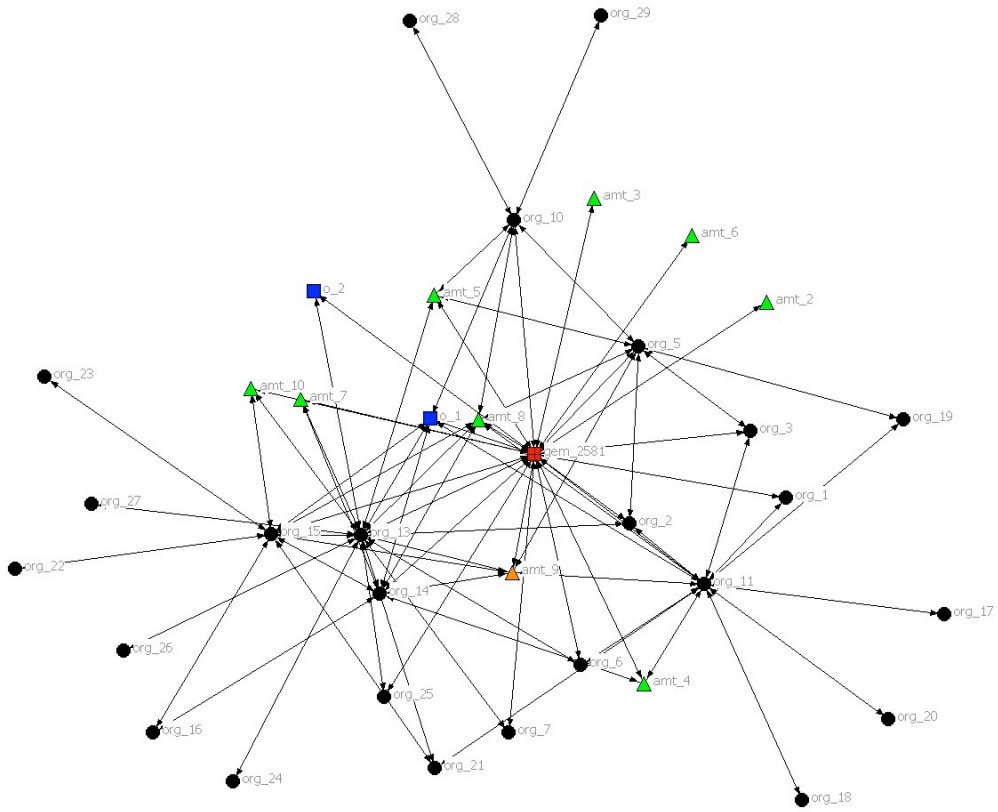
Wallisellen 2005



Solothurn 2005



Olten 2005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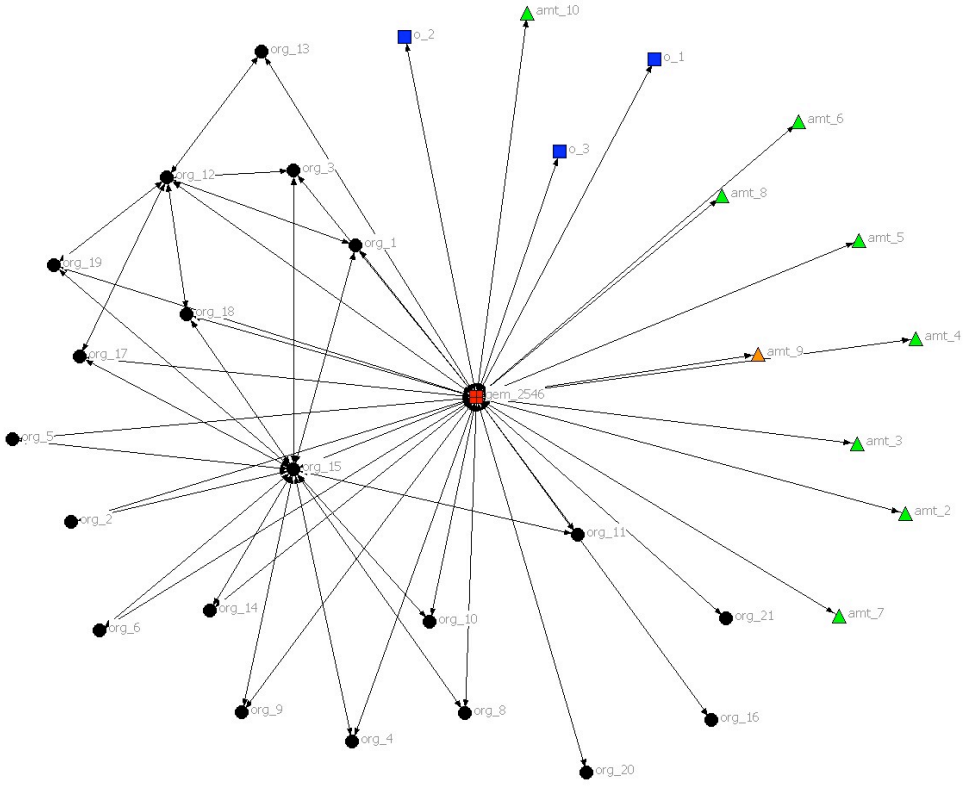
Grenchen 2005



Chapter 8

Conclusions and Outlook

At the very end, I want to come back to the question raised at the very beginning - in the title of this dissertation. Is volunteering essentially an activity performed by individuals motivated by benevolence? In order to answer this question, I want to use the main argument of this work: Prosocial behaviour must be explained by an interdependence of values, motives, structure and context at different levels.

The two main findings at the individual level are that first, personal values and socialisation influence motives to volunteer. Second, context is relevant in both the recruitment and volunteering process: Persuasive messages and incentives are effective tools for volunteer management. The two main findings at the organisational level are that state capacity and activity shape the development of local organisational networks. Furthermore, contextual factors, such as regionalisation processes, affect network formation. A fifth and overarching finding is that social interaction is a key ingredient for prosocial action. Social interaction influences prosocial behaviour through socialisation, trust and learning.

A multi-level, multi-method approach to analysing the antecedents of volunteering was chosen. It provides an in-depth analysis of the motives to volunteer, the link from motives to value systems and the role of social interaction at the individual and organisational level. Because every action is also embedded in a context, contextual factors, namely the role of persuasion and institutions are considered at both levels.

Thus the answer to the question raised above can be given in instalments. First, we will look at the aspect of "meaning well" at the motivational level. Are benevolent motives responsible for the decision to volunteer? Second, alternative motives for volunteering and their link to benevolence are considered. Then, the role of values for volunteering and the relationship between values and motives is discussed. Next, social interaction as a crucial link between values and action is being discussed, both at the individual and the organisational level. Finally, the role

of context is elaborated at at both levels. In order to answer these questions, a rich and varied database can be drawn from: The results of an experimental study on volunteer motivation, the results of a network study and one (cross-) national value survey (WVS).

Benevolent motives or values are most often cited as being an important inducement for volunteering (Omoto 1995; Clary et al 1998; Penner 2004, for example). They are most closely related to altruism, which has been found to be an important factor for prosocial behaviour (Batson 1998). In the two samples that tested volunteer motives - the online experiment sample and the field experiment sample - the values motive is the motive most strongly rated as determining (social) volunteering. This is the case for both open and closed questions. Similarly, when personal values underlying volunteer motivation are considered, the Benevolence value can be found most frequently in active members of service organisations (WVS). In other types of organisations, the Achievement and Tradition values are most prevalent. Moreover, Benevolence values are linked to trust, an attitude that has been found relevant in connection with social relationships (Putnam 1993; Uslaner 2000).

In our online-samples, this benevolent motive (Values motive) was more highly rated by individuals that have had no previous volunteer experience, indicating that volunteering is indeed a value driven activity. With social interaction through volunteering, other motives can become more salient. This confirms the result of several previous studies (Omoto and Snyder 1995; Finkelstein 2008; Haski-Leventhal 2009). Thus personal values are a result of cultural values and socialisation. This process is ongoing though and with new experiences, value structure may change. Therefore, it can be concluded that, yes, it helps to mean well to do good. However, meaning well does not tell the whole story. First, there are other important volunteer motives and second, all motives are moderated by personal values.

Four other motive types from the literature (Clary et al. 1998) were found to be predominant in the participants of the two experimental studies: The Enhancement, Understanding and Career motives, which are predominantly self-oriented, in the student samples and the Enhancement and Protection and Understanding motives in the field sample. This confirms the results of previous studies that found the Values, Understanding and Enhancement motives to be most prevalent in volunteers (Clary et al. 1998; Omoto and Snyder 1995, for example). The prevalence of the Career motive in the online-sample can be attributed to the nature of the sample (students). All results are based on the maximum values for motive items in the standard VFI questionnaire. Moreover, within the samples there was regional variance to be found.

There are slight differences between the French and the German language regions regarding answering patterns. Respondents from the French language region generally respond in higher answer categories. There is a slight female bias in the French language region, which also serves as an explanation for the preference of the Values motive in that region. This is confirmed by the data from the SEM model, where Values items show a clear gender difference. Women put more emphasis on helping others when stating their motives for volunteering. This result would support the claim of both sociology and evolutionary psychology that women are socialised into helping behaviour (Wilson and Musick 1997). Moreover, in the Values model, the Social motive is more prevalent in males. In this model, Volunteer Motivation (VM), which is a latent variable influenced by values and socialisation, is higher in women than men, independent of university. Overall, these results support the dominant place socialisation holds in our Values model. Socialisation is an important factor for the formation of personal values. It can explain variance in new volunteers, as well as existing volunteers. The role of values for volunteering was examined in three different contexts.

First, the precedence of personal values over cultural values in the context of volunteering was established in chapter 2. Chapter 3 examined the relationship between values and motives and a Values model for volunteering was presented. Cultural values and socialisation are thus presumed to shape personal values, which in turn act as moderators of volunteer motivation. The extent to which motives other than values are pertinent in the decision to volunteer is therefore dependent on personal values. Finally, chapter 6 shed some light on the link between values, trust and volunteering. Again, personal values were found to be most relevant for predicting volunteering.

The analysis of WVS data for Switzerland therefore provides two major findings: First, there is evidence to support the claim (Gudykunst et al. 1996, for example) that personal values are more decisive in determining prosocial behaviour than cultural values. This conclusion is based on the strong results for the personal values variables and religiosity measures in comparison to cultural values and cultural value regions – even when controlling for strong socio-economic predictors of active membership. Second, trust variables prove to be insignificant for volunteering in service organisations when controlling for personal values. It was argued that active membership or volunteering are individual-level unilateral behaviour and not forms of cooperation. We would therefore expect the former to be influenced by personal values, not norms of reciprocity. The findings of the Putnam school of social capital literature could therefore not be confirmed in this instance. Values do influence trust levels but the link to participation is indirect, via shared norms and values. The value-motive connection, on the other hand, is tested in the Values model.

The second-order Values model was compared to a number of first-order multi-factor models in the context of an online experiment. The former was found to be superior to the other two in terms of conceptual clarity and coherence. With this

model, it is possible to separate values from attitudes and with the Personal Values construct, to have a theoretically derived moderator of volunteer motives. This means that depending on an individual's personal values - which are influenced by socialisation and personal experience - volunteer motivation is affected. The underlying dimensions of volunteer motivation are self-oriented motivations and it can thus be explained how individuals can hold other-oriented values but still choose to volunteer for self-oriented reasons (cf. chapter 2). The socialisation aspects of the personal values construct is part of the social interaction processes discussed in various chapters. This model presents thus an amalgamated explanation of behaviour where social learning (Bandura 1977) and attitude functions (Omoto and Snyder 2002) have an equal standing.

The different chapters show that social relations are embedded in norms and values that are internalized through experiences and socialisation/ institutionalisation. It has proven to be indispensible to include these dimensions in the analysis of prosocial action at different levels of analysis in order to get a more precise view of the antecedents of prosocial behaviour. The Values model integrates the different components (social interaction, values, personal resources and motives) of Wilson and Musick's (1997) "integrated theory of volunteer work" for individual prosocial behaviour. With the Values model of volunteer motivation, we thus present a dynamic model of prosocial behaviour - a perpetuum mobile of prosocial behavioural explanation. The link from the individual level to the organisational level forms social interactions. Social interactions in the volunteering context can have different relevant effects. They can change individual motive structure, they can build trust or they can lead to imitation. It is defensible to suppose that social capital should be considered as social relations that create a benefit for individuals or groups (Lin 2001). At the group level, structural social capital can be accumulated in the shape of organisational networks.

Organisational networks in social service provision, as was shown in chapter 7, are shaped by the role of central state actors in the network. It was confirmed that strong central-actor/organisation ties lead to greater network expansion. Mimetic processes are thought to be behind this effect. Moreover, information diffusion was found to be more effective in networks with structural holes. Thus central network assumptions can be confirmed (Burt 1981; Coleman 1990; Hedstrom et al. 2000, for example). However, contextual effects on social interaction can be observed as well.

In the cases studied, state capacity and strategy shape the structure and development of social networks. With this view of social capital - as structural social capital - the state plays a major role in influencing social capital. State institutions, at different horizontal and vertical levels, affect relationships among nonprofit organisations and their operational scope. Contrary to the postulations of some authors (Fukuyama 2001, for example), there is no indication that state involvement leads to a decrease in social capital. On the contrary, the more powerful the central state actor, the more efficient it can be in promoting social capital.

At the individual level, contextual factors can lead to increased volunteering as well. Affective stimuli can produce beneficial effects on the willingness to volunteer and on volunteer outcomes. The decision to volunteer can be affected by matching persuasive messages, such as advertisements, or incentives. A positive influence of matching motive and message in terms of message appeal could be confirmed (Clary et al. 1994, for example). This applied to a lesser extent to the propensity to volunteer. Therefore, recruitment efforts emphasizing one of the identified motives for volunteering will encourage individuals to volunteer most strongly for whom this motive is of central importance. In the same vein, as expected (Cnaan and Goldberg-Glen 1991), a matching of motives and incentives results in more

satisfied volunteers. Here, the conclusions remain somewhat unsure, however, because of the low number of participants at this stage.

We can thus conclude that a number of factors contribute to volunteering: Personal values that through cultural values and socialisation have been shaped towards high levels of benevolence; additional motivational factors, which can be of a self-centred nature, that have been activated through experience or socialisation. These factors then form a latent volunteer motivation, i.e. a combination of motivational influences. This volunteer motivation can be amplified by affective stimuli that match volunteer motivation. At the organisational level, volunteer activity can be supported in terms of resources by organisational networks with strong ties to a central state actor. Policy diffusion, on the other hand, is aided by networks with structural holes.

The contribution of this study is twofold: First, a dynamic model of volunteer behaviour could be presented, integrating different sociological and psychological approaches to prosocial behaviour. This model could be tested in an experimental set-up for individual behaviour at different stages of the volunteer process. In this way, changes in the volunteer motive structure could be illustrated. Moreover, the new Values model could be compared to other, established motivation models in the literature, which have not been tested in experimental conditions before. Because we were able to carry out a field experiment testing the same assumptions but over time as well, we could point out a self-selection problem in survey studies. Second, contextual factors of volunteering could be tested at the same time and at different levels. They show that social interaction is strongly influenced by contextual factors. These may be framing, incentives or institutional parameters. We can thus show that first, targeted recruitment efforts may be worthwhile for volunteer organisations and second, organisational networks can be positively influenced by the degree of state activity.

There are two main areas that need to be explored further, however, in order to strengthen these results. First, the value and socialisation measures must be better developed in order to assess their impact on volunteer motivation. This can be done by complementing the Values model with additional value (Schwartz' s 1994 ten item personal values) and socialisation items (Lee, Pilliavin and Call 1999, for example). Second, the link between organisational networks and actual volunteer recruitment still needs more attention directed at. In the study described above (chapter 7), increases in volunteer numbers were used to test the claim that policy diffusion is more efficient in networks with structural holes. What the study couldn't show, however, was whether additional recruitment efforts had in fact taken place and if so, whether the reasons were directly linked to certain volunteer promotion policies. There is thus a missing link at the organisational level that needs to be studied in more detail.

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